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Staughton Lynd and the '70s

New Left Calls for 'Siege' of U.S. Industry

By VICTOR RIESEL

New York:—The professor has a plan. He would shift the demonstrating masses from outside the White House and the Pentagon into the executive suites and stockholders' meetings of corporate America. Since the professor is a devotee of Leon Trotsky, Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung, he has a penchant for guerrilla tactics. Doing what comes naturally, said he recently, means switching from the campuses to the corporate headquarters, from the parks to the plants and from street brigades to burning of business records.

"We need," says he, "to find ways to lay siege to corporations."

The professor is no pipe-smoking theoretician with a built-in ivory tower. He is the 40-year-old eclectic Marxist, Prof. Staughton Lynd, who has been made welcome in Hanoi, Peking and deviationist Moscow.

When Staughton Lynd decides the time has come to switch and fight elsewhere, it is no minor matter to this nation. It is Prof. Lynd and his traveling companion, Tom Hayden, who truly launched the era known as the New Left, the sleep-ins, the teach-ins, the burnouts, the bust-ins and the sweeping militant sects who now lay siege to the university world—or any part thereof.

The professor is a pragmatist. What sense, says he now to his followers, in shouting at the White House or pouting at the Pentagon? Find strikes and infiltrate them. There will be plenty. The General Electric strike is just the beginning. If winter comes, can spring stockholders' meetings be far behind, he asks? If these boards of directors and their shareholders meet during labor strife, besiege them, work from within by proxy, work from without with demonstrations, advance on the struck plants—or if not struck, then move on the plants which make defense material.

One-time Yale Prof. Staughton Lynd (far right) has temporarily forsaken the street-march circuit for what he believes is a more devastating tactic: the disruption of corporate enterprise. He'll probably have help, too, from veteran militants such as Communist Herbert Aptheker (left) and SDS founder Tom Hayden.

Prof. Lynd has it worked out with precision. He has dates, places and corporate defense product lists.

"We need to find ways to lay siege to corporations," Prof. Lynd has just told his followers. "We need to develop forms of action which offer roles to persons at many different stages of radical commitment. We need to invent anti-corporate actions which involve masses of people, not just the dedicated few.

"Demonstrations at annual stockholders' meetings could be one first step. They would provide many different tasks."

Then comes the pattern of action—all the way from the invasion of board meetings to "action" on the campuses where the corporations send their recruiters. It is the mark of Prof. Lynd's charisma, which springs from his years in several American communes, that SDS flying squads already have attacked college offices visited by GE's recruiters.

There have been rousing battles at Boston U., Rutgers and Michigan State.

Prof. Lynd sees himself as a latter-day Leon Trotsky, directing young revolutionary armies. He is, however, it may crush him to know, nothing but the revival of the Revolutionary Police Committee crowd, the Socialist Workers sect, the Workers Alliance direct-action squads of the decade in which he was born as it went out in Nazi flames.

They fought in the streets then, sometimes 60,000 strong. And they barricaded themselves in federal offices—sometimes manacling themselves to radiators, sometimes to toilet bowls. Literally.

Now Prof. Lynd, who in the '60s has joined the revived Socialist Workers party (Trotskyite), the Maoist street and rooftop-actionists Progressive Labor party and who has traveled with the Communist party's theoretician, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, and the riot-expert Tom Hayden to Hanoi, Peking and Moscow, plans to confront America's commerce and industry.

He hopes to match his schedule for action with the spring peace offensives—which he believes will be paralleled by massive strikes.

His objectives are, in addition to GE, General Motors, Chrysler and Ford (besiege the Big Three, says he), Bendix, General Tire and Rubber, Westinghouse, AVCO, AT&T, Textron, Boeing, Martin-Marietta, Honeywell, General Dynamics, Lockheed, RCA, Kaiser, IT&T, Grumann, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and of course, what would his revolution be without IBM at bay?

"One can imagine the annual meeting of one of the Big Three automobile companies simultaneously besieged by groups concerned about defense contracts, labor practices and pollution," says the latter-day Trotsky.

Prof. Lynd is in dead earnest. At 40, he has no time to waste words. By his own standard he is past his prime. So never underestimate the fury of a self-avowed Marxist and his proxy-carrying legions.

Remember, everybody laughed when they first sat down to play revolution in the big college halls. This could get to be a bloody mess. Or haven't you read any SDS Weatherman literature recently? The official estimate of damage on American campuses in 1968 alone is $3 million. This doesn't include broken heads, broken windows, broken backs and the cost of euphoric, unprogrammed violent upheavals going nowhere, but going there in a violent hurry.

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Will Nixon Repudiate Riponers?

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Senate Caves in to Big Labor

Page 4

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Capital Briefs

• A good number of Republican senators—ranging from moderate to conservative—are extremely incensed at GOP Senate leader **Hugh Scott.** Since he was elected leader, he has opposed the Administration on Haynsworth, on the tax reform measure and even on the Viet Nam war. Scott has landed on the liberal side of all these issues. The Pennsylvanian is also being criticized for failing to tend to congressional business and leaving the major part of his task to party whip Robert Griffin. So dissatisfied are some GOP lawmakers, in fact, that they have given serious consideration to the idea of trying to unhorse him from his current leadership position when the new session of the Senate begins in January.

• Chief Justice **Warren E. Burger's** first public vote on obscenity since joining the High Court found him at odds last week with his predecessor, Earl Warren. Burger's vote came as the court reversed the conviction of a Waterford, N.Y., man who had been convicted of peddling "pornographic" magazines. Burger and Justice Harlan dissented from the 6-to-2 decision, arguing that states and localities should have wider latitude than the federal government in combating obscenity.

• The House Committee on Internal Security has finally agreed to investigate **"New Mobe,"** the organization that staged the massive march on Washington November 15. Chairman Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.) had been reluctant to conduct such a probe until a number of House lawmakers got behind Rep. Earl Landgrebe's (R.-Ind.) resolution requesting just such an investigation by the HCIS. Ichord, some GOP lawmakers are saying, went along only after he realized the snowballing sentiment for a thorough probe.

• Sen. **Joseph Tydings** (D.-Md.), who lined up against the confirmation of Clement Haynsworth Jr. to the Supreme Court, originally was trying to sell the judge to both Republicans and Democrats. Tydings told his colleagues, including Haynsworth proponent Sen. Marlow Cook, that he had gained great respect for the judge while serving as U.S. attorney for the District of Maryland from 1961 to 1963. Tydings gave various reasons for finally opposing the judge, but Tydings watchers say the Maryland lawmaker just caved in to massive union pressures.

• Sources close to Rep. **Rogers C. B. Morton** (R.-Md.), chairman of the Republican National Committee, say the White House is "actively urging and encouraging" the Eastern Shore congressman to take on Sen. Tydings next year. Morton hasn't given a final "yes," but politicos say he's much warmer toward the idea than he once was.

• Sen. **George McGovern** (D.-S.D.) is busy raising funds for fellow doves who face tough re-election fights next year. Letters bearing McGovern's signature have gone out to liberal fat cats throughout the country and McGovern expects to raise $200,000 by the end of the month. Recipients of the money will include Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.), Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.), Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.), Quentin Burdick (D.-N.D.) and others.

• Administration insiders are predicting that **Daniel Patrick Moynihan,** now counselor to the President, will leave the White House within the next six months. Moynihan, reportedly, is not particularly happy that he no longer has a large staff to prepare legislative proposals for the President.

• Liberal columnists continue to flail away at Atty. Gen. **John Mitchell.** Now they're accusing him of being a "political neophyte" because he endorsed Rep. Clark MacGregor (R.-Minn.) for the U.S. Senate seat up for grabs in Minnesota next year. The facts, however, are these: The Mitchell endorsement was a campaign debt (MacGregor headed Nixon's Minnesota effort) and was approved by the President, even though Nixon was aware MacGregor would be challenged in the primary. The real reason the liberals are angry: Douglas Head, who is likely to be MacGregor's chief primary opponent, worked for Rockefeller against Nixon in the 1968 presidential contest and has been the Minnesota GOP liberals' big hope for the future.

• **John W. Gardner,** alleged Republican and erstwhile secretary of health, education and welfare, recently accused President Nixon of a "failure of leadership" because he wasn't pressing hard enough for a number of domestic programs; the big-spend programs he had in mind, of course, would be more suited to the tastes of liberal Democrats than regular Republicans. Gardner, however, who likes to parade himself as a "moderate," recently revealed where he really stood on the political scale when his Urban Coalition sponsored a television program featuring over 100 celebrities. The luminaries were overwhelmingly liberal and ranged from the left (Arthur Goldberg) to the far-left (Ossie Davis and LeRoi Jones). Given this line-up, Gardner managed to bowl over observers with the bizarre comment: "Incredible! There's everybody here in the political spectrum."

• How is **W. Averell Harriman** trying to aid the President in his Viet Nam policy? Harriman recently told a Yale University audience to "keep up the pressure" on President Nixon because his approach to peace in Viet Nam is "absolutely wrong." The October 15th Moratorium Day, he contended, "helped our position in the negotiations. . . . Don't let anybody think this is going to adversely affect the national interest. The Moratorium has helped to build essential confidence that we mean what we say—that we intend to get out."

• Under the influence of United States Information Agency chieftain Frank Shakespeare, the **Voice of America** is no longer afraid to point out extreme leftist agitation in the United States. A November 12 broadcast, for instance, in describing the New Mobe outfit that staged the massive anti-war protest in Washington, D.C., stated: "It includes pacifists and anti-war organizations of many kinds. But there is a certain amount of anxiety over a reportedly heavy infiltration of Trotskyites, old-line Communists, extremist elements of the Students for a Democratic Society and plainly pro-Viet Cong partisans. All of these factions tend to prefer confrontation rather than demonstration. . . ."

• Leaders of the **"Tell It to Hanoi"** committee met last week with President Nixon and presented him with 350,000 statements of support for the Administration's Viet Nam policy. The non-partisan group, which placed newspaper ads urging Americans to "tell Hanoi we support our President," received more than a million responses in all.

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Ripon Letter Revealed

The Nixon Administration, as *Human Events* revealed in its December 6 issue, still has a masochistic penchant for hiring and promoting members of the allegedly "Republican" Ripon Society. Since our story the Administration has done it again—this time elevating Ripon founder John Price to executive secretary of the White House's influential Council on Urban and Rural Affairs. The importance of that shop can be gleaned from the fact that it was formerly headed by liberal Democrat Pat Moynihan, now "Counselor to the President."

As a result of Price's promotion, the Society will now have an immensely increased influence in formulating the Administration's domestic legislative program. Riponers, in fact, appear to saturate top government echelons, with at least a dozen important members and associates having grabbed off key positions at the White House itself.

Yet regular Republicans remain highly puzzled by the Administration's alliance with the Riponers. The society's "Republicanism" can be gathered from its enthusiastic endorsement of John Lindsay for mayor this year and its support of Allard K. Lowenstein, a radical Democrat, for Congress in 1968. Since Nixon's election, the Ripon Society has opposed his ABM decision, his Viet Nam policy, his attorney general and his efforts to conciliate the South. Michael F. Brewer, Ripon's political director, trekked to Washington the weekend of November 15 to aid the Moratorium and Mobilization leaders to demonstrate for an immediate, unilateral withdrawal from Viet Nam.

Even more disturbing to mainstream Republicans is that behind the President's back key Ripon leaders have expressed an extreme distaste for Richard Nixon and have secretly hoped that John Lindsay might emerge as the Republican presidential candidate in 1972.

Human Events, for example, has been furnished by a disgruntled Riponer a copy of a letter that was sent by Richard A. (Dick) Zimmer, currently president of Ripon's New York Chapter and an ex-officio member of the national board, to Lee A. Huebner, a former Ripon president and now a top Nixon speechwriter. Presently serving in the prestigious New York law firm of Cravath, Swain and Moore, Zimmer wrote his letter on August 12 of last year, less than a week after Nixon had been nominated by the GOP in Miami. Written on Kindel and Andel stationery, an Orange County, Calif., law firm with which Zimmer was connected for a short period, the letter was addressed to: "Mr. Lee Huebner, The Ripon Society, 14a Eliot St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138."

Said Zimmer: Now that I've had time to get the smell of decomposing pachyderm out of my nostrils, I've been able to come up with a few ideas regarding where we (the Ripon Society) should go from here.

"First, I am convinced that any political influence we might be able to exert must be exercised within the Republican party. Although a number of us (myself included) will refuse to vote for a man who has mortgaged the White House to Strom Thurmond, we would gain nothing from a public bolt à la Jackie Robinson. . . .

"This does not mean that we need support Dick and Spiro. On the contrary, I believe that even quiet acquiescence to the thrust of the campaign, as it is now conceived, will hasten the doom of the moderate wing of the GOP, the defeat of the party in the coming election, and the dissolution of the Ripon Society. With the prospect so grim we have less to lose from being incautious.

"I propose that we immediately issue a public ultimatum to Nixon requiring him publicly to disavow any veto his Southern supporters might have over future appointments, to affirm the GOP's commitment to the vigorous enforcement of civil rights legislation and to rule out any major escalation of the Vietnamese war. We should word such an ultimatum graciously enough for Mr. Nixon to accept, remembering that he would probably welcome an opportunity to refurbish his centrist image.

"For the longer run, we must stop taking comfort in the marginal improvements we have been able to make in the party and realize that they have thus far merely cosmetized an essentially reactionary group of politicians. . . . To change the party in any substantive way, we must create an organization equipped to take power. Unlike Ripon, this organization must be composed largely of politicians. We can't be such an organization, but we now have the knowledge and contacts to bring such a group together.

"The week that Nixon is defeated, a national organization of professional politicians should announce that it is going to strive to nominate John Lindsay in 1972 by taking over the party from the precinct level up. . . .

"If we can't (or won't) set up such a candidate-oriented organization, the very least we should do is set up a permanent intelligence and communication operation to carry out full-time the kind of in-depth, delegate-oriented research traditionally begun each election year. . . . What we need is someone like John Price working full time with adequate staff.

"I still believe in the value of the Ripon Society; there is no material respect in which I would change it. But I have come to the realization at the convention that the members and friends of Ripon had better start taking chances and getting their hands dirty because no one else will do it for us.

"Promoting Ripon and saving the GOP are not the same thing; if we devote ourselves to Ripon and stay above precinct politics as we have done, we will soon become impotent and irrelevant. Leaders like Nixon will react to our criticism the way Stalin did when he was warned of possible censure by the Pope: 'How many divisions does the Pope have?'"

Such was the bitter tone of Zimmer's letter to Huebner on Aug. 12, 1968. Zimmer's missive has raised a number of provocative questions which may have far-reaching repercussions for Riponers on the government payroll.

Does the Ripon Society generally agree with Zimmer's thesis? Do its officers and members believe, with Zimmer, that Nixon's nomination in Miami produced "the smell of decomposing pachyderm"? Do they, like Zimmer, believe the party is an "essentially reactionary group of politicians"? Has it really been gathering together an organization to get behind John Lindsay in 1972?

When contacted by *Human Events* at the White House, Huebner vigorously maintained that he did not agree with Zimmer's tone or underlying assumptions, and he says that Zimmer himself cooled down sometime after firing off his epistle. Huebner also said that Zimmer's view was a "minority" one and that Ripon, in fact, endorsed the Republican ticket in 1968.

Nevertheless, many political observers—noting the weak tone of that "endorsement" and the fact that a Ripon poll showed some 35 per cent of the society's members voting for Humphrey in '68—are under the impression that Zimmer's scorching letter more nearly reflects the state of the majority of Riponers than Huebner contends.

While the Riponers might not all agree on what tactics they should employ, the majority appear determined to push the party to the left. Huebner himself has been quoted as saying, "We lost the struggle with the conservatives over the tone and content of Nixon's campaign. Now we've got to win the struggle over his presidential policies." Riponer Thomas Petri, also at the White House, says Ripon should "exert pressure from the left."

Equally to the point, the society, through its newsletter, the *Ripon Forum,* repeatedly pushes for leftish programs far more suited to the tastes of liberal Democrats than conservative or "mainstream" Republicans. Thus Ripon's endorsement of Nixon, it is contended, was hardly an act of loyalty but a self-serving move which enabled a large group of Riponers to get jobs with the Nixon Administration.

Now that Zimmer's revealing letter has come to light, many Republicans are wondering if the President will continue to feel so compelled to place Riponers into strategic areas of his Administration.

• Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.), chairman of the House Republican Conference, will be the principal speaker at the Seventh Anniversary Dinner in honor of the Ripon Society. The dinner will be held January 17 at the Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C. The invitation lists among the Ripon Society dinner sponsors Senators Charles Mathias (R.-Md.), William Saxbe (R.-Ohio), and John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.), Representatives Peter Frelinghuysen (R.-N.J.) and Paul McCloskey (R.-Calif.), Mayor John Lindsay of New York and Elly Peterson, assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee. Replies are to be sent to Patricia Goldman, a former congressional staff member who is now with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

GOP Blocks Red Trade

An unlikely trio of heroes has blocked efforts by Democratic Senators Mondale (Minn.) and Muskie (Maine) to push through Congress a measure that would encourage an extraordinary expansion of U.S. exports—including high-quality machine tools—to Communist countries. The heroes: Republican Congressmen William Widnall (N.J.), Chester Mize (Kans.) and Garry Brown (Mich.).

Though each has been considered somewhat "soft" on the issue of East-West trade, these lawmakers, working closely with the Administration, managed to get the House last week to bluntly reject a Senate-House conference compromise on the Export-Control Act—a measure that included important aspects of the Mondale-Muskie pro-Red trade bill.

The vote was 238 to 157 (see rollcall, page 15). Only five Republicans—Representatives Peter Frelinghuysen (N.J.), Seymour Halpern (N.Y.), Brad Morse (Mass.), Ogden Reid (N.Y.) and Charles Whalen (Ohio)—cast their ballots for the legislation.

While liberal Democrats, including Wright Patman (Tex.) and Thomas Ashley (Ohio), tried to suggest the measure would not prevent the Administration from stopping strategic trade with the Communists, opponents argued that the bill, in fact, called for expanded trade with Communist-controlled nations and, according to some experts, would actually decontrol over 1,200 items that previously could not be exported without a special license.

House lawmakers were particularly persuaded by

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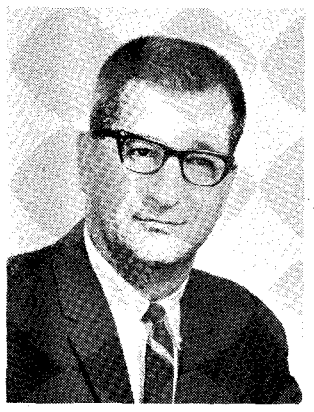


BROWN

WIDNALL

Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans, whose department administers the Export Control Act. In a letter to Rep. Widnall, dated December 3, Stans stated:

"As you know, the Administration's preference from the outset has been for straight renewal of the Export Control Act of 1949. The House passed a two-year extension of this act with a useful modification. . . . However, we do not support the conference version which is being interpreted as calling for broad, immediate liberalization. We feel strongly that any significant liberalization of East-West trade should be a part of broader improvements in overall East-West relations.

"In addition to the policy difficulties which the conference-approved bill creates for the Administration, the language of the authority section is such a drastic change from the former act that a substantial question is raised as to whether, should it become law, the national security can be protected."

Stans hit at a number of provisions and asserted they make it unclear as to whether "the government maintains its authority. . .to control items involving new technology. . . ."

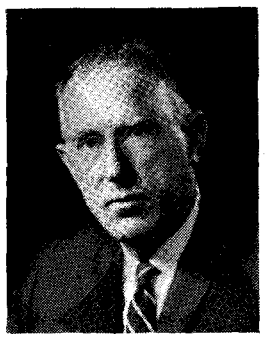
Section (4b), he maintained, provides that if strategic products or technology are available from any foreign source, comparable items from U.S. companies cannot be subject to export control unless the President makes a specific determination that this is necessary in the interest of national security, and reports in detail to Congress the reasons for such determination.

"This requirement for detailed public disclosure of the reasons for retaining control over strategic commodities and technology despite foreign availability," said Stans, "could be detrimental both to our national security and our foreign relations and also damage U.S. firms in regard to matters of trade confidentiality."

Stans' arguments, coupled with the aid of Messrs. Widnall, Mize and Brown, managed to rescue the Administration's position at almost the last possible minute. As a result of the House's action last week, politicos figure the Senate will finally buckle, with the Congress eventually passing legislation along the lines the Administration desires. Meanwhile, *Human Events* readers might want to praise those lawmakers who refused to vote for expanding trade with the Reds.

Defeat of Fannin Amendment

By a 59-to-27 vote last week, the Senate defeated a tax reform amendment that would have barred any tax-exempt organization —including labor unions—from using their members' dues for political purposes. The measure was sponsored by Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.).



FANNIN

While the unions and their allies in the Senate berated the amendment, Fannin made it clear that he was in no way trying to apply punitive measures to the unions. The purpose, he explained, was to cover all organizations equally.

"We are simply saying," Fannin had explained in introducing his amendment, "that if you wish to engage in political activity of the type so described [in the amendment]—support or opposition of candidates and parties and voter registration—then you pay taxes like everyone else who engages in such activity."

Reed Larson, executive vice president of the national Right to Work Committee, stated: "While the amendment lost, it is important to keep in mind that the action December 8 was the first serious consideration ever given to ending what has long been the nation's biggest and up-to-now largely unmentioned tax loophole. However, it will not be the last serious consideration.

"It is not known widely by the public that unions are the only organizations with an immunity to the 'no politics' rule now applied to all other tax-exempt organizations in the civic, fraternal, business and professional fields.

"The importance of this loophole to union officials—who spend more than $100 million annually for political purposes—was obvious December 8. Their well-heeled lobbyists jammed the Capitol corridors and, as one might have expected, most of those senators elected by tax-exempt compulsory union dues quietly voted to carry out their obligation to the union bosses without even trying to defend what they know is an indefensible practice.

"Also, as one might have expected, Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), who led the battle against the nomination of Judge Clement Haynsworth to the Supreme Court on the grounds of ethics, voted against the amendment even though it has been publicly revealed that he received a considerable portion of his campaign funds from union treasuries.

"The Fannin amendment would not have restricted in any way the political activities of union members or union officials so long as these activities were supported by funds contributed voluntarily for political purposes. The hysterical opposition of union officials was a clear admission that they are, in fact, financing their political activities with union dues income. As a matter of fact, in a recent AFL-CIO publication they complained that legislation requiring them to rely upon voluntary contributions for political purposes would 'drive unions out of politics.'

"Although the Federal Corrupt Practices Act was intended to restrict labor unions and corporations from politicking in federal elections, the Internal Revenue Service acknowledges that 'as a matter of law, a labor organization does not lose its right to exemption under Section 501 because it engages in political activities.' In other words, Big Labor receives special treatment denied all other private organizations. This is what Sen. Fannin and most Americans want ended."

Following is the rollcall vote by which the Senate on December 8 turned down the Fannin amendment to the Tax Reform Act of 1969:

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 27

DEMOCRATS (9): Byrd (Va.), Eastland, Ervin, Holland, Hollings, Jordan (N.C.), McClellan, Russell and Stennis.

REPUBLICANS (18): *Bellmon*, Bennett, *Cotton*, *Curtis*, *Dole*, Fannin, Griffin, Gurney, Hansen, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Murphy, Pearson, Saxbe, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 59

DEMOCRATS (42): Bayh, Bible, Burdick, Byrd (W.Va.), Church, Cranston, Dodd, Eagleton, Fulbright, Gore, Gravel, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hughes, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy, Long, Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, *Pell*, Proxmire, *Randolph*, *Ribicoff*, Sparkman, Spong, Talmadge, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (17): Aiken, Boggs, Brooke, Case, Cook, Fong, Goodell, Hatfield, Javits, Mathias, Packwood, Percy, Prouty, Schweiker, Scott, Smith (Maine) and Smith (*Ill.*).

Announced or paired for the amendment: Baker, Dominick, Goldwater and Hruska, all Republicans.

Announced or paired against the amendment: Allott and Cooper, Republicans; Allen, Cannon, Ellender, Metcalf and Symington, Democrats.

Voting Rights to Cover Nation

Action by the House last week in rejecting extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and approving—by a close 208-to-203 vote— a Republican-sponsored substitute represented a major legislative victory for the Nixon Administration. It also represented one of the most confusing, least understood and totally distorted matters to come out of the 91st Congress.

If you believed the liberal media and some civil rights leaders, GOP congressmen and their Southern Democratic allies succeeded in tossing out the window what some enthusiasts have labeled "the most effective civil rights law ever enacted." The normally cool and collected Clarence Mitchell, chief lobbyist for the NAACP, had a fit of hysterics. "It looks," Mitchell said after the vote, "like the Klan was on the floor of Congress voting to lynch the Negro at the polls."

Yet more objective observers view the vote as something quite different.

Far from throwing out the '65 act, the Republicans changed only two of its 19 sections. And these changes had the major thrust of making the voting rights law apply to every section of the country (i.e., making it *non*discriminatory) and altering the act's language to apply a principle usually championed by minorities: One is innocent until proved guilty.

Capitol Hill liberals, however, began early to lobby for a simple five-year extension of the old act, with no amendment or alterations. If passed, this would have meant that federal surveillance of voting operations would continue only in seven Southern states—Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and the Carolinas.

The 1965 act operated in these states because of sections 4 and 5, the "triggering clauses." These sections provided that in states where literacy tests were used and where less than half the voting age population voted or were registered in 1964, the literacy tests and similar devices would automatically be suspended and federal examiners would be sent in to register qualified voters. It also forbade states subject to the act to change voting laws unless the changes were cleared by the Justice Department or the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

The 50 per cent registration-voting stipulation proved to be capricious, at best. Texas, for example, had less than that percentage voting in 1964, but did not fall under sections 4 and 5 because it had no literacy tests. Virginia, which has such a test, fell under these punitive sections even though the Justice Department has found no evidence of racial discrimination at the voting booth.

House minority leader Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.), furthermore, pointed out that the Democratic-sponsored measure—plain extension of the 1965 act—would continue to penalize the same seven states even though they have registered approximately one million persons, mostly Negroes, who were not on the voting rolls when the bill was passed.

Five of those states, Ford revealed, had actually registered so many persons that they had *met* the criteria first established in the 1965 act. But if the 1965 act were extended, he pointed out, these five states—even though they had done exactly what Congress had told them to do—would be subjected to five more years of federal interference. "They would still have to prove their innocence," said Ford, "contrary to any established concept I know of in this country."

House Republicans thought they had a better idea than plain extension. Conceived and pushed by Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, the GOP substitute measure alters the '65 act in these important ways:

- The Administration bill would scrap the "automatic" or "triggering" clauses and require the government to prove that voting laws are discriminatory instead of requiring states to prove they are not.
- It would permit assignment of federal registrars nationwide, rather than just singling out the Southern states.
- The Republican substitute suspends literacy tests in every state where they exist but sets up a commission to study their effect.

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• The bill also provides that anyone who moves into a state not later than September 1 before a November election shall be eligible to vote for President.

Liberals, of course, didn't think this package was a good idea at all. They contended that the GOP substitute was a part of Nixon's so-called "Southern strategy" and was intended to win over Wallace supporters. Yet when the measure passed the House it had the votes of such liberal Democrats as Representatives Edith Green (Ore.), Al Ullman (Ore.) and party whip Hale Boggs, plus such Northern Republicans as Minority Leader Ford (Mich.), Thomas Meskill (Conn.), William Steiger (Wis.) and Garry Brown (Mich.).

(House Republican opposition to the Administration proposal was led by Rep. John Anderson of Illinois, chairman of the House GOP Conference, an erstwhile solid conservative who is tending more and more liberal.)

Liberals also maintained that lifting the pressure on the South would be tantamount to allowing those states to revert to their old ways of keeping Negroes off the voting rolls. In view of the great increases in the number of black voters in the South during the past few years and the growing sophistication of this bloc in its voting behavior and selection of candidates, such a turn to the past would seem highly unlikely.

What might well have had congressional liberals most upset about the Republican bill was the fact that, with its new nationwide coverage, the Justice Department can now keep an eye on the registration and voting activities of Northern big-city Democratic machines and of organized labor.

• During House debate on voting rights last week, Rep. Joe Waggonner (D.-La.) related a 1967 incident in which he and two other legislators confronted then-Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, a zealous enforcer of the '65 Voting Rights Act. Rep. Waggonner had come to ask Clark why he had sent federal registrars into three parishes (counties) in the congressman's Louisiana district. Clark, according to Waggonner, admitted that he had received no complaints of discrimination from anyone in the three areas and had no evidence that such existed. So, Waggonner asked, "why on earth have you sent federal registrars into these parishes?" And Clark replied, Waggonner told his House colleagues last week, that "I want to register more Negroes." Clark has not denied the story.

Senate's Reckless 'Tax Reform'

Ignoring President Nixon's threat of a veto and the inflationary fires sweeping the country, the Senate last week—amid Republican cries of fiscal irresponsibility"—recklessly pushed through a momentous tax reform and relief bill. The vote, detailed below, was 69 to 22.

When fully implemented, the measure would provide some $11 billion in tax cuts, mostly for low-income and middle-income Americans, though this would be partly offset by $5.7 billion in increased revenues largely levied on businessmen and affluent individuals. Another $7 billion in increased Social Security benefits was tacked onto the bill on the Senate floor.

In a last-minute effort, Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), supported by the Administration, moved to strip the tax bill of $5 billion in tax cuts and $7 billion in Social Security benefits—all of which had been added by floor amendments. He lost, 31 to 60, in an almost straight party vote.

Williams complained that the floor amendments alone would lose $10.6 billion in revenue compared with the committee version. And when some $1.7 billion in tax credits for college education came into effect in 1972, the loss would be $12.3 billion. He called it the "most irresponsible legislation passed in my 22 years in the Senate."

Williams was so incensed he refused to lead Republican senators on the conference committee to iron out differences between the Senate and the House versions.

The bill was so bad the Washington *Post*, which normally comes down on the liberal side of most issues, called their editorial: "Tax Spree in the Senate."

"Rushing heedlessly to attach more vote-catching baubles to the measure," said the *Post*, "the Senate almost lost sight of its original goal, which was to eliminate special favors and discrimination from the country's tax structure. In the face of this wallowing in irresponsibility even the strongest defenders of democracy are left with a hopeless feeling. . . .

". . .the most costly of all the Senate amendments is another matter. We refer to the $6-billion Social Security bonanza attached to the bill. With the steady rise in living costs, Congress must of course raise Social Security payments. But the country simply cannot afford a 15 per cent jump at this time, plus a boost in the minimum payment from $55 to $100 a month for single persons and $150 for couples. The only reason for attaching these plums to the tax-reform bill was to make it more difficult for the President to reject them. . . .

"It is the combination of this costly gesture with the revenue-slashing Gore amendment which has put the Senate in the posture of throwing discretion to the winds. One estimate is to the effect that the combination will change the prospect of a $3-billion surplus in fiscal 1971 under the Finance Committee bill [backed by the Administration] to a $7.5-billion deficit. In the face of continued inflationary pressures this amounts to an abdication of responsibility."

Following is the Senate rollcall on the tax reform bill:

FOR THE BILL: 69

DEMOCRATS (51): Allen, Bayh, Bible, Burdick, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W.Va.), Cannon, Church, Cranston, Dodd, Eagleton, Eastland, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Gravel, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hollings, Hughes, Inouye, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Kennedy, Long, Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McClellan, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Sparkman, Spong, Stennis, Talmadge, Williams (N.J.) Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (18): Aiken, Baker, Bellmon, Boggs, Case, Cook, Cooper, Dominick, Fong, Hatfield, Javits, Miller, Packwood, Prouty, Schweiker, Scott, Smith (Ill.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST THE BILL: 22

DEMOCRATS (2): Holland and Russell

REPUBLICANS (20): Allott, Bennett, Brooke, Cotton, Curtis, Dole, Fannin, Goodell, Griffin, Gurney, Hansen, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Murphy, Pearson, Percy, Smith (Maine), Thurmond, Tower and Williams (Del.).

Rumsfeld's OEO Lobbying

Facing a showdown vote in the House, anti-poverty czar Donald Rumsfeld lobbied all week long against a Republican-Southern Democratic measure to turn control over the controversial community action programs to the states. Not only did Rumsfeld refuse to compromise with GOP leaders—even after some public prodding to do so by President Nixon—but he sent his poverty bureaucrats scurrying through congressional offices to persuade House lawmakers to pass the $2.3 billion bill approved by the Democratic-controlled House Education and Labor Committee—even though the measure does not reform OEO and authorizes $300 million more than the President himself requested.

Rumsfeld, in fact, relied on liberal Democrats to make his case. One of the Rumsfeld lobbyists turned out to be Fred A. Forbes, a $24,000-a-year man in charge of public affairs and congressional relations for the Mid-Atlantic Region office of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Forbes headed John F. Kennedy's 1960 New Hampshire campaign, was editor of the Kennedy "Bulletin" at the Democratic National Convention and was once a press secretary to Thomas McIntyre (D.-N.H.).

Why, some Republicans would like to know, does Rumsfeld keep on liberal Democrats like Forbes? The answer seems to be that the ex-Illinois lawmaker has become enamored with liberal Democratic programs.

Nixon's 'Cultural Boondoggle'

President Nixon's "economy image" was hardly enhanced last week when he called for a $40-million budget for the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities in 1971—a doubling of federal funds over the current fiscal year. While the amount may be considered small in comparison to other budgets—and far under the $135-million figure Democratic leaders unsuccessfully tried to ram through the Congress last year—many lawmakers consider the foundation a cultural boondoggle.

"The President's right in criticizing the demagogic Senate tax reform proposals, since they would increase inflation," said one irate Republican. "But then why does he turn right around and confuse the public by asking for double funds for something like arts and humanities?

"Since the President is already asking citizens to accept an extension of the surtax," said another critic, "this is hardly the time to ask them to support this kind of increased spending. It makes one doubt Nixon's sincerity in fighting inflation."

The House last year thought so poorly of the foundation it actually passed an amendment by Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) which cut authorizations for the foundation to a mere $11.5 million. The House and Senate finally agreed to allow $20 million, but many feel this Democratic measure, born in 1965, should be eliminated altogether.

In debating the bill's funding last year, Rep. William Scherle (R.-Iowa) caustically remarked that the nation's economic situation had not "reached such glorious heights" that the foundation should subsidize—as it has been doing—box office failures to the tune of $200,000 a year. And why, Scherle wanted to know, was it vital to spend $10,000 "to have some official in Rhode Island 'rethink' public road signs" when even spokesmen for the Federal Highway Administration thought it nonsense?

The Iowan also criticized a $10,000 grant for "completion of a long poem"; another $10,000 handout so one person could "travel to the West Coast and do research on a projected novel about life in Hollywood"; and a $500,000 grant for the purpose of constructing low-rent housing for artists.

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) supplemented this list of cultural gaffes by revealing that foundation fellowships, ranging from $8,500 to $14,000 per year, permitted "research into such 'vital' areas as 'Medieval Spanish Satire and Invective.'"

A number of lawmakers also pointed out that it was not as if the arts were starving for funds. Of the 23,000 foundations in the United States, some 1,000 have shown a significant interest in the arts.

When the arts and humanities foundation was first created in 1965, Russell Lynes of *Harper's* said: "I am not worried about creeping socialism in the arts, but about creeping mediocrity. The less the arts have to do with our political processes, I believe, the healthier they will be." Author Thornton Wilder tartly remarked at the time: "There are no Miltons dying mute here today," adding that "anyone who can play the scales" is rushed off to Vienna to study music on money raised by some local music appreciation club. Nevertheless, Nixon—in the heat of an economic crisis—now feels we should double expenditures on the arts.

• Why Nixon chose to "blur" his economy image—after he had publicly threatened to veto the tax bill—is unclear, but some Administration insiders say the President fell for some bad advice offered him by such White House liberals as Len Garment. The President, so say many House Republicans on the Hill, would do far better to ignore the Len Garments and to start showing he means to economize by eliminating outright such Democratic spendthrift items as the anti-poverty program, model cities and—the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities.

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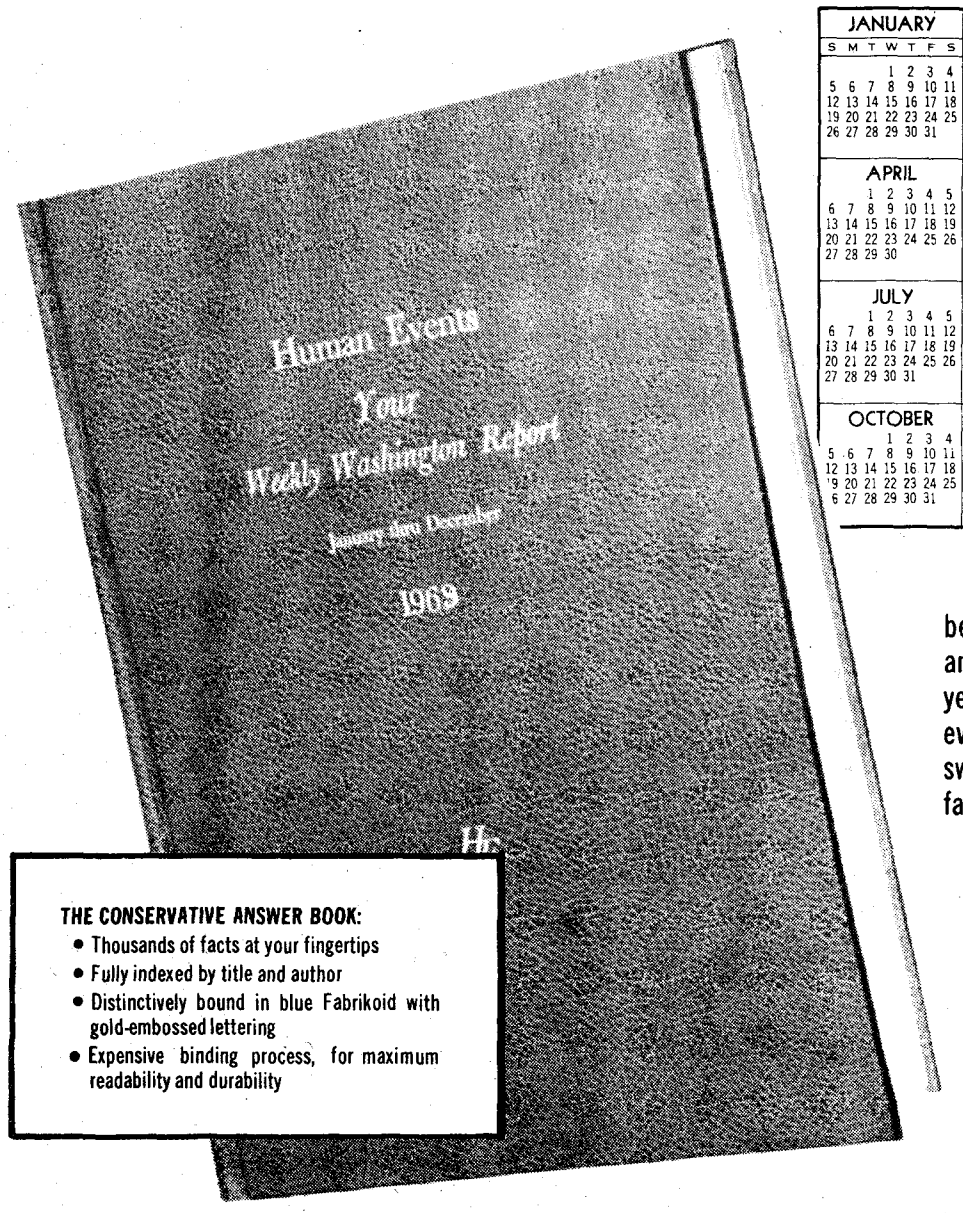

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Special 'Rider' Needed

How a Member of Congress May Go on Court

From the ALLEN-GOLDSMITH REPORT

Those high-level disclaimers notwithstanding, a member of Congress may be named to fill the Supreme Court vacancy, after all.

Under serious consideration is an ingenious plan that conceivably would clear the way for that despite the constitutional prohibition against appointing a member of Congress to a job for which he voted an increase in salary.

Earlier this year Congress raised the pay of associate justices of the Supreme Court from $39,500 to $60,000. As a consequence, members of the current Congress (91st) are barred from being named to the tribunal. But high-placed constitutional lawyers have come up with what they contend is a perfectly legal and proper way to overcome this obstacle.

As propounded by them in inner Administration councils, it's very simple:

A "rider" (amendment) could be attached to some pending legislation authorizing a member of Congress to take the vacant court seat at the previous salary—$39,500. He would draw that pay until this Congress expires—Dec. 31, 1970. In January 1972, when the new (92nd) Congress becomes operative, he would start receiving the higher scale of $60,000.

This novel recourse has never been used before. Just how valid it is, is admittedly very uncertain. [In a somewhat different case in 1909, Congress, which had just raised the salary of the secretary of state, reduced it to its former level so that Sen. Philander C. Knox could take the post.]

In the backstage discussions it is readily conceded that opponents of a congressional nominee might very likely undertake to challenge his appointment in the courts. What would happen then is anyone's guess.

But there is one point on which all are firmly agreed—the appointee would be quickly and decisively confirmed by the Senate.

There are two reasons for this confidence:

The long congressional tradition of approving the appointment of a fellow member; and the distinguished character and standing of the three legislators reportedly under serious consideration, as follows:

Sen. **John Stennis** (D.-Miss.), 68, graduate of Virginia Law School, served 10 years on the Mississippi circuit court before being elected to the Senate in 1947. One of the most highly esteemed and influential members of Congress, he is chairman of the powerful Armed Services Committee, a ranking member of the equally potent Appropriations Committee and chairman of the Ethics Committee.

Sen. **Roman Hruska** (R.-Neb.), 65, graduate of Chicago Law School, served one term in the House, and has been in the Senate since 1954. The top Republican member of the influential Judiciary Committee and a ranking Republican on the Appropriations Committee, Hruska was narrowly defeated for floor leader following the death of Sen. Everett Dirksen.

Rep. **Richard Poff** (R.-Va.), 46, bomber pilot in World War II, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. A graduate of the Virginia Law School, he has been in Congress since 1952, and is second-ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee. He is widely regarded among colleagues as an outstanding constitutional authority.

All three are "strict constructionists" in the full sense of President Nixon's concept of that term. Each would unquestionably give the Supreme Court the "balance" the President maintains it urgently needs.

Significantly, Sen. John Tower (Tex.), chairman of the Republican Campaign Committee, has asked the Library of Congress for a study on members of Congress named to the Supreme Court. The library's researchers don't have to go far to find one.

Justice Hugo Black, while a senator from Alabama, was appointed by President Roosevelt in 1937. Now nearing 84, Black is still vigorous and active, and giving no indication of quitting.

It is noteworthy that he was appointed on August 12 and confirmed by the Senate five days later—August 17.

Another Southern senator was named to the court by Roosevelt—James Byrnes (D.-S.C.). He resigned several years later to become "assistant President" during World War II. Subsequently, he was President Truman's secretary of state, and then was twice elected governor of South Carolina. Now 90, Byrnes recently recovered from a serious illness.

★ ★ ★

The violence-prone Black Panther party makes a great publicity ado about its so-called "breakfast for children" program. According to BPP, the purpose is to feed hungry youngsters.

But the record shows that BPP actually is motivated by other aims—indoctrination rather than compassion.

This indoctrination is as sinister as it is vicious. A graphic illustration is the following song taught a group of children at a BPP breakfast in Philadelphia:

"Stand tall, here come the Panthers
Stick 'em up with a .45 and
G--d---, free Huey."

Although the children liked to sing, two of them balked at "G--d---." Two little girls said their mothers did not allow them to say "bad words."

Huey Newton, minister of defense of BPP, is in jail on charges of murdering one police officer and wounding another.

★ ★ ★

Bipartisan House opponents of the scandal-battered anti-poverty program apparently have the votes to pass their plan putting it under control of the states.

That is strongly indicated in a backstage nose count giving the opponents' measure a clear margin over the proposal of the House Education and Labor Committee to extend the existing, widely controversial system unchanged for two more years—with a $2.3-billion budget for the first year, and a blank-check authorization for "such sums as are necessary" for the second year.

It was the likelihood that the opposition's substitute legislation would be approved by the House that caused Rep. Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.), committee chairman, to abruptly withdraw his two-year extension bill that was slated to be considered by the House on December 3.

This unusual last-minute "cop-out" precipitated a furious wrangle in the course of which Rep. Edith Green (Ore.), second-ranking Democrat on the committee, caustically berated Perkins.

She flatly charged him with calling off the scheduled consideration because he knew he would be licked.

"Fear does strange things to some people," Mrs. Green told the intently listening House, "and there can be no question it was fear that there were not enough votes on the floor of this chamber to carry the two-year extension bill that caused the sudden switch in schedule this afternoon."

On the basis of the backstage nose count, the bipartisan opposition leaders are predicting their alternate bill—placing control of the anti-poverty program under state officials—will be approved by the House by a margin of at least 25 votes. They say it may go as high as 50.

Leading the opposition are Mrs. Green and Rep. Albert Quie (Minn.), second-ranking Republican.

Vigorously supporting them is Republican Floor Leader Gerald Ford (Mich.), and some front-rank Democrats, among them Representatives George Mahon (Tex.), chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, and Wilbur Mills (Ark.), chairman of the equally influential Ways and Means Committee.

It is known that Chairman Perkins has appealed to Donald Rumsfeld, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, that administers the anti-poverty program, to get a statement from the White House backing the two-year extension measure. So far, that has not been forthcoming.

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As this issue went to press the House was voting on the substitute OEO bill. Passage was in doubt. See page 5.

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Rent Control Blight

A ruinous idea threatens to spread across the nation

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John V. Lindsay, whose lease on New York's City Hall was recently renewed by a dogged minority of voters, is probably the only mayor in American history to win re-election on the strength of the slogan: "He kept us out of war."

Specifically, during the long, hot summers of 1967-68, when sizable sections of Newark, Miami, Chicago and Detroit were going up in smoke, the nation's largest metropolis—"the most unrepresentative community in the entire United States," to quote Messrs. Reston and Agnew—somehow succeeded in keeping its cool. Gotham, that is to say, still stands.

Yet despite the mayor's campaign claims, New York City in the past four years has managed to become the nation's only major disaster area not officially recognized as such. Vast stretches of real estate in at least three of the five boroughs have deteriorated beyond the point of no return. Ancient tenements and (until recently) quite habitable buildings alike stand empty, boarded up, and typically stripped, vandalized, blackened by fire. Some no longer stand at all, except as piles of broken brick and rubble.

Whole blocks of Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx have been compared by expert witnesses to the bombed-out ruins of London.

Unlike riot-torn Watts and elsewhere, to be sure, the devastation did not happen overnight. But a belated awareness of it has descended on the City Fathers —and opinion-makers—almost as suddenly.

"The housing situation, already indescribably bad for many thousands of New Yorkers, is getting worse," noted the New York *Times* in its lead editorial of November 11—one week to the day after the election returns were safely in. How did the *Times* get the word? "That stark conclusion emerged inescapably at City Hall hearings last week by the State Senate's Committee on Housing and Urban Development." The hearings, timed (with computer-like precision) by the chairman, Mr. Lindsay's former finance administrator, to be heard by the voters only after they emerged from the polling booths, were devastating indeed.

In brief, it appears that the Big Town —which alone among major cities in the country has clung to rent controls since World War II—actually suffered a net loss of 21,000 residential units from 1965 through 1968, "the first time in metropolitan history [noted the *Times* with alarm] that the over-all housing supply had gone down."

Moreover, according to the Lindsay Administration's retiring czar of Housing and Development, living space is being lost at twice the rate of new construction. City Hall's response has been drearily predictable; i.e., to give a new lease on life to rent control, the major villain of the piece.

Through a recent series of moves—forced rent rollbacks (on previously non-controlled, postwar buildings), a lawsuit against one of New York's biggest landlords (Metropolitan Life), an explicit threat to clamp ceilings on hotels and other commercial real estate—Mayor Lindsay seems bent on achieving what he several times advocated on the floor of Congress: the forced conversion of New York's housing into a "public utility."

More astonishing—and alarming —has been the reaction of other city administrations to urbanity's fair-haired leader: follow suit. Coast-to-coast reports indicate that rent control no longer can happen only in New York. Despite Gotham's shattering experience, the idea is spreading—to New Jersey, California, Florida and Massachusetts —like the plague.

The nationwide trend, indeed, has become the latest tactic of self-styled urban revolutionaries. Thus, rent strikes in St. Louis, Washington and Philadelphia (so far confined to public housing) now threaten to hit privately held apartment projects. "Tenants Union Moves Into High Gear," bannered the *Daily Californian* last month, over a story describing how Berkeley's "Union" has banned together with an organization called TORCH (Tenants On a Radical Change in Housing) to force a "rewriting of California rent laws." Elsewhere, the move owes less to the New Politics than to the old, or vote-buying, variety.

Hence, in San Francisco (where Berkeley agitators failed to put a rent-control referendum on the city ballot last year), middle-income tenant groups now seem willing to pursue the campaign. Tenant groups in Connecticut and New Jersey have elected sympathetic representatives to the statehouse. After a series of rent strikes had forced the pre-election appointment of a so-called Tenant-Landlord Commission in the Garden State to review present laws and study "rent abuses"—the incumbent Democrats lost the governorship anyway—a number of different "rent-stabilization" bills are set to go into the hopper when the new legislature convenes next month.

Perhaps most ominous, rent control in recent weeks has actually gone on the books of two large (if wildly disparate) cities. First, of all places, was gilt-edged Miami Beach. Just before the November elections, the city council—pandering to a permanent population largely consisting of retired senior citizens—passed a rent-control ordnance, only to have it thrown out of Circuit Court on a technicality. Now the measure, suitably amended, will be reintroduced. Its strongest support, both vocal and financial, comes from the Senior Citizens' Legal Services Center of the Economic Opportunity Program, Inc.—a community action program funded by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

On November 21, finally, a potentially far-reaching city statute was signed into law by the mayor of Boston. Modeled roughly after New York City's statute, it bears one striking difference: rent control in Boston will exempt all but some 60,000 of the city's 175,000 rental apartments, including an estimated 90,000 units in buildings of three apartments or less (whose owners, in most cases, live on the premises). Absentee (i.e., out-of-town, or non-voting) owners were the primary targets, but an aide to the mayor believes coverage will be extended (via a new enabling law) "once we get some experience in this business." The town in which Colonial America first took up arms against the excesses of government has undergone radical change.

To all appearances, then, rent control is an idea—albeit one of the worst —whose time has come. Let's hope not, for the sake of the nation's landlords and tenants alike.

As to the first group, there's no doubt that controls are bad news for property owners. Costs have risen severalfold during the post-war years. Yet in New York, rent increases generally have been limited to between 15 per cent and 33 per cent (depending on turnover of tenancy) over the same 22-year span. For proof of the gap between income and outgo, one need look no further than the record of New York's City Housing Authority, which, though tax-exempt, complained recently that its operating expenses since 1952 have risen 125 per cent.

Bad for landlords, rent control sooner or later hurts tenants, too. For the shortage of housing, which provides politicians with the rationale for rent control in the first place, inevitably worsens under its strictures. Thus, in New York City today the total number of new private apartment projects has dropped to "one of the lowest levels in the city's history," reports Charles H. Gruenthal & Co., a large Manhattan management firm. In the first six months of 1969, permits were filed in the five boroughs for just 2,052 dwelling units (about the same as last year's 12-month rate of 3,994), compared with 26,603 in full-year 1960 and 40,300 in 1962.

The existing stock of shelter also has been going from bad to worse. "How does [deterioration] begin?" asked William J. Glinsman, president of New York's Association of Building Inspectors, at the state committee hearings last month. Mr. Glinsman went on to relate the horror story of a rent-controlled building recently declared "unsafe," which he explained, "15 years ago . . . was in a middle-class neighborhood . . . a five-story walk-up . . . constructed in the '20s or '30s."

In this case, "an apartment on the top floor became vacant, addicts began to enter the building, to steal the furniture from the apartment and then the plumbing, and then to live in the apartment. There were several fires. Tenants became afraid to leave their apartments for fear their apartments would be vandalized, and began to look for another place to live. Soon the landlord abandoned the building." In the city's hands, it was declared unsafe and the remaining tenants evicted.

Costs of the "abandonment process" (taxes lost, relocation, welfare, demolition) came to $21,000—roughly equal to the pre-vandalized market value. So great is the disparity between maintenance costs and rentals that a city-sponsored study by the Rand Corp., quoted last month by the retiring Housing & Development Administration, "demonstrates that the income gap in these [lower income, largely rent-controlled] buildings is today about $255 million per year."

The extent of wholesale abandonment and destruction in New York could have surprised only those officials (and commentators) who did not accompany Mayor Lindsay on his celebrated breezy hikes through the city's streets. Nevertheless, the New York *Times* remarked with astonishment the "disclosure" by Mr. Glinsman—in a report which he said had been suppressed by City Hall until then—that "two-thirds of the abandoned buildings being torn down as 'unsafe' were structurally sound and probably capable of rehabilitation." Particularly devastating was the analysis presented by Dr. Frank S. Kristof, a private economist and former city housing official.

"In three short years (March 1965 to March 1968), the city lost enough housing through abandonment by their owners to house 275,000 persons, or the entire population of Jersey City, N.J.," he stated.

"In 1968 there were 31,000 fewer houses and apartments in New York City than there were in 1965 . . . the first time in the recorded history of New York City—records that go back about a century—that such a statement can be made. . . . At this rate, in another three years, we will be in the midst of the most paralyzing housing crisis ever conceived in this town, much less realized." Dr. Kristof placed much of the blame on "the loss of standard, good-quality housing built in the '20s in fairly good neighborhoods because their owners could not afford to properly maintain their properties because of low controlled rents."

Undeterred by the facts, the Lindsay Administration lately has gone about as far as it can go in the wrong direction. For His Honor now is putting pressure on commercial real estate.

After allegations by the state's attorney general, Louis Lefkowitz—a Republican who supported the "Liberal-Independent" candidacy of Mr. Lindsay—that "1,000 complaints" had been received from retailers and other commercial tenants about rent increases ranging from "50 per cent to 200 per cent," City Hall demanded that the industry "police itself" or face the kind of coercion applied to "non-controlled" apartment landlords. Last week the Housing & Development Administration made the threat explicit to owners of residential hotels.

Under an amendment to its "rent stabilization" law, which became effective October 10, the city demanded that hotels roll back "excessive rent increases" to no more than 10 per cent of rents as of May 31, 1968, by no later than December 10. If not, threatened the Administration, they'll be placed under rent control.

(At almost the same moment, City Hall announced that it will seek a subsidy from the state, when the Albany legislature convenes in January, to help "sustain" rent controls by relieving the burden on landlords—virtually a confession from the practitioners that the practice has, indeed, been self-defeating.)

So, in sum, goes Gotham. Can the rest of the country be far behind? Late reports—many sounding as though they'd been written by Lewis Carroll or George Orwell—ominously suggest that what doesn't work in the Big Town is worth emulating elsewhere.

Rent control, as New York City continues to demonstrate to all but the hopelessly biased or blind, is the road to ruin. For those who must live amid urban blight here and elsewhere, the handwriting—as obscene in its own way as the most militant revolutionary's graffiti—is on the wall.

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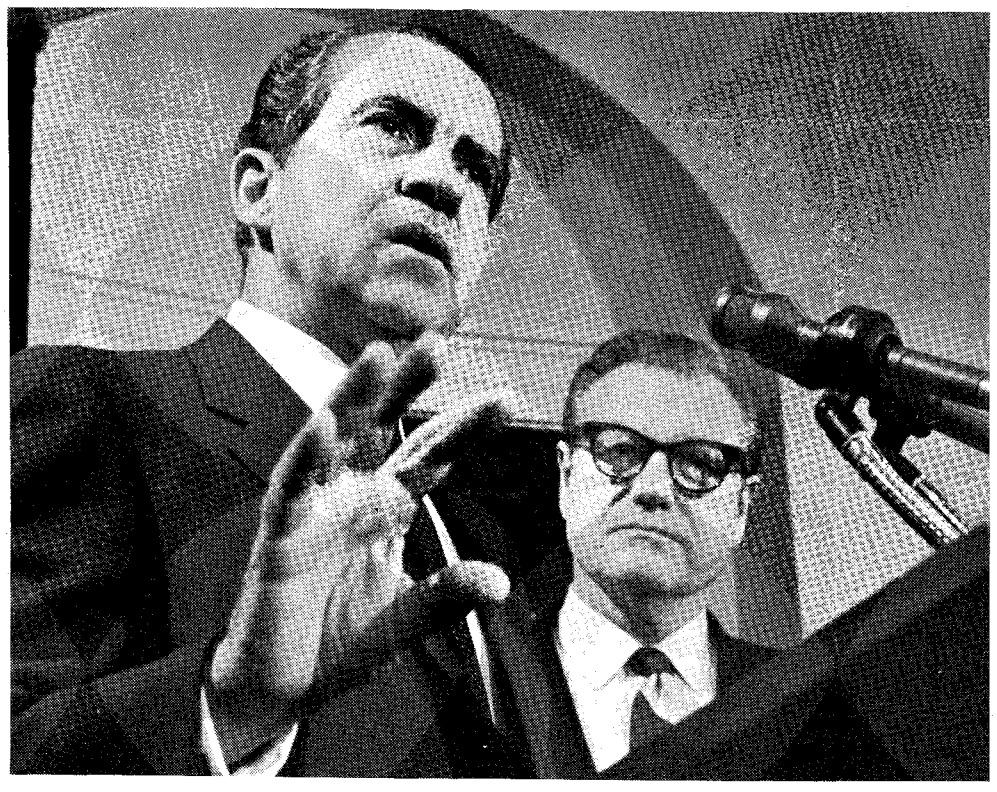
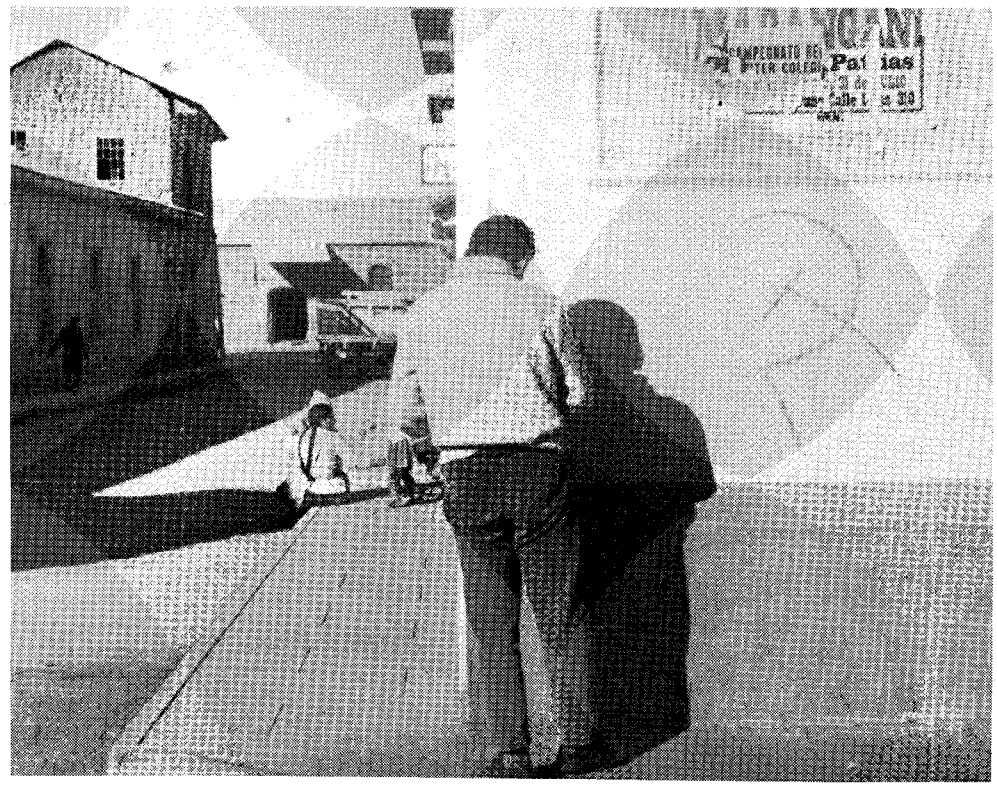


President Nixon and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller discuss the latter's fact-finding mission to Latin America. Author Paul Bethel points out that the governor's report has so far not received the attention it deserves.



Even as pro-Communist slogans abound in Latin countries and U.S.-owned businesses are harassed and bombed, many otherwise well-meaning State Department officials try to follow the same disastrous policies of the past.

Governor Finds Communism Still a Threat

Liberals Upset by Rocky's Latin American Report

By PAUL BETHEL

There is considerable amusement at the White House these days over the confusion which hit the Liberal Establishment with the release of the Rockefeller Report. From early September until November 10, the day the governor's report was made public, former Kennedy aides and their sympathizers in the press kept up a drum-fire of demands that Rockefeller's recommendations on Latin American policy be aired. When they were, you could almost hear the jaws drop from Sen. Frank Church's subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs to the editorial rooms of the New York *Times*. For what the Liberal Establishment expected turned out to be quite something else.

It all started when President Nixon received the report and immediately classified it "secret." The New York *Times* responded by saying: "If Mr. Nixon tries to sit on the Rockefeller Report, the suspicion will grow that he used the governor's mission as a substitute for policy; that behind the rhetoric there is still no policy or even a philosophy about what to do in the hemisphere."

Vision magazine complained that Rockefeller's recommendations were being handled "like moon dust" and said that unless revealed they "will compound the crisis they were designed to cure." The Minneapolis *Tribune*, the *Christian Science Monitor* and the Milwaukee *Journal* all got into the Nixon-scourging act, confident that Rockefeller's recommendations would reflect their own preconceived notions. The Miami *Herald*, which has been editorially soft on Castro, thundered: "Rockefeller's Report Should be Public—Now!"

And speaking before something called the "Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom" at the Overseas Press Club in New York, ex-OAS Ambassador Sol Linowitz characterized the governor's trip as "signaling a fresh, urgent concern" for Latin problems and scored the Nixon Administration for withholding the report. Linowitz was roundly applauded by Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Teodoro Moscoso, former coordinator for the Alliance for Progress and a number of other economic determinists. They have one thing in common—the semi-Marxist belief that the bread-giver is the law-giver and that the more money pumped into left-liberal regimes, the greater the chance for democracy.

But it was left to the New York *Times* to sum up the Liberal Establishment attitude, saying, on September 25: "An informant close to the Administration has said that Mr. Nixon is determined to evolve his own Latin American policy and not to give the impression that his basic philosophy was derived from the governor's findings."

Then, on November 10, the Rockefeller Report was released and the jaws began to drop.

Why the liberal astonishment is summed up in seven paragraphs which comprise the section: "Communist Subversion." The governor hit the Liberal Establishment in its most vulnerable spot when he announced: "Clearly, the opinion in the United States that communism is no longer a serious factor in the Western Hemisphere is thoroughly wrong."

It needs little elaboration that the Liberal Establishment has consistently downgraded the threat to the hemisphere caused by Cuban-exported terrorism. And they must have been shocked even more by Rockefeller's assertion that the Soviet Union and its Communist parties are no less dangerous than Fidel Castro and finds their avowals of "peaceful coexistence" to be at variance with the facts of that belligerency.

In fact, the Rockefeller mission finds the Communist threat sufficiently serious to recommend setting up a Western Hemisphere Security Council to combat it. Moreover, the governor recommends that the practice of withholding AID funds from countries which buy advanced military equipment be abandoned at once.

He urges that helicopters, jeeps, trucks, and radio equipment be made available to countries under attack by urban and rural guerrillas trained in Cuba, that patrol boats, airplanes and land equipment be sufficient to guard frontiers and says that police and the military ought to be trained by the United States to protect their countries from terror and mounting violence. These specific recommendations envision the repeal of the Conte and Symington amendments which prohibit the United States from selling certain military equipment.

Reaction was not long in coming. In exchanges with Sen. Church during hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, Gov. Rockefeller was challenged repeatedly regarding his recommendations to help Latin countries defend themselves from internal subversion.

Sen. Church had earlier said in a Senate speech (October 23): "The real threat to our national interest in Latin America does not come from Havana, or Moscow either—anyone who thinks that it does is 10 years behind the times." However, as the governor's report makes clear, Communist subversion in Latin America has combined the crudities of a Fidel Castro 10 years ago with a subtle operation appearing in many different guises. Yet, Sen. Church says that military support to governments is bad: "I have never believed that any benefit derived from military assistance could possibly counterbalance the heavy political price we pay for our close association with the military establishments."

Logic appears to support Gov. Rockefeller. Since the alliance was instituted back in 1961, $9.9 billion has been poured into Latin America in the belief that left-liberal governments could undercut the "appeal" of the Communists by providing a better life for their people. But the truth of the matter is that more often than not those same left-liberal governments have used the money unwisely with very little benefit to the populace.

And when the disastrous effect of government planning begins to be felt, they turn against the United States, claiming that capital investments are a form of exploitation and merrily confiscate properties which have helped them not only economically, but socially. Modern labor practices grew out of U.S. investments in Latin America as did industrial know-how.

The error of the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations is this: They identified Latin America's Christian Democrats and Social Christians with their cousins in Europe.

But Latin America's parties are very new, are made up of a conglomerate of splinter groups and have no functional political philosophy. Perhaps more important, they do not have a history of anti-communism which sets the European Christian Democrats distinctly apart.

The result is that Latin America's left-liberals have adopted most of the programs and tactics espoused by the Communists themselves. (C.D. leader in Chile, Radomiro Tomic: "Capitalism is not compatible with democracy. . . the fight is a confrontation with the imperialist interests of the North Americans.") Yet Chile has received $1.5 billion in various forms of aid from the U.S. taxpayer.

As Brazil's *O Jornal* put it recently, U.S. policy over the past decade has been "a reversal of the Monroe Doctrine." Now, *O Jornal* comments wryly, "North American policy may be spelled out as 'America for the anti-Americans.'"

This policy provides a good explanation for the fact that military regimes, watching left-liberal governments receiving aid almost in direct proportion to their anti-American attitude, have decided to mount that bandwagon themselves. How else does one interpret the confiscations, by military regimes in Peru and Bolivia, of U.S. properties and the undeniable swing to the left? Evidence suggests that President Nixon has inherited the current can of worms in Latin America precisely because they have been nurtured and fed by economic determinists (professors and economic planners) who have been, and still remain, in our State Department.

Clearly, the road taken over the past decade in Latin America by the two Democratic Administrations has led, not to economic and political stability, but to economic chaos and political vacillation. Like their counterparts in the State Department, left-liberal regimes do not want to be beastly to the the Communists and have more often than not used the Communist menace to extract more financial aid from the United States.

This is the blind alley that the governor wants to detour. He spots the problem of Communist subversion for precisely what it is. Subversives are not impressed by economic palliatives to undercut their alleged "appeal" to

(*continued on following page*)

Mr. Bethel, for many years with the U.S. Foreign Service, is the author of The Losers *(Arlington House), an account of the Castro takeover in Cuba and the spread of communism in Latin America.*

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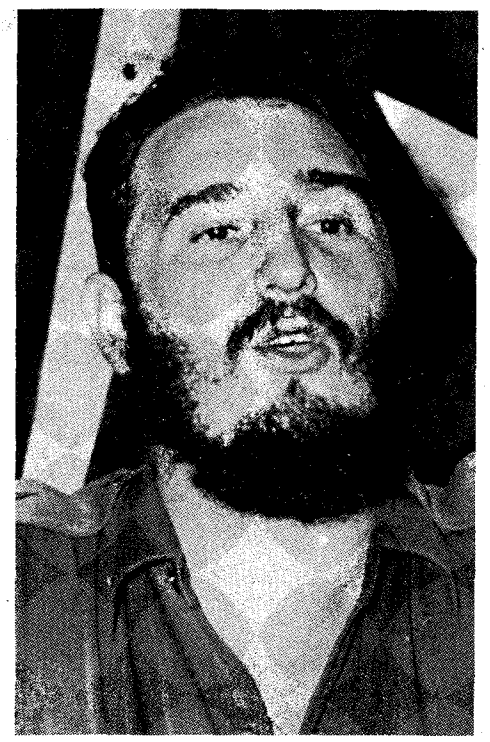
(*Continued from preceding page*)

the masses, simply because those palliatives do not address their militancy.

What the governor recognizes, in effect, is that there can never be political and economic stability in Latin American countries until that militancy is blunted, or eradicated entirely. And that is why he is in trouble with his former liberal supporters.

The reaction of the Liberal Establishment has been (*1*) to try to ignore the kernel of the governor's message, or, failing that, (*2*) to shift the blame to the shoulders of President Nixon. The New York *Times* had a brief story on the Rockefeller Report in its November 16 edition, in which it said: "Whether the governor's dire predictions are entirely justified and whether new Fidel Castros will emerge in Latin America is, of course, a matter of argument and emphasis. Whether, as Mr. Rockefeller suggested, the United States should provide more arms to Latin America to fight Communist subversion is a sensitive issue here, and in the hemisphere—and President Nixon, for one,



Fidel Castro's subversive effect throughout Latin America is one liberal-annoying point Rockefeller makes.

chose to ignore publicly this particular proposal." Then the story continued with hundreds of words, supported by charts and graphs, on the governor's economic recommendations.

David Bronheim, former assistant coordinator for the Alliance for Progress and a fierce opponent of military support to Latin American governments, is an evidently enraged member of the Rockefeller mission. He simply switches the blame for the report to President Nixon's shoulders, saying, "If the governor's recommendations on military assistance are combined with the President's announced policy on economic assistance, the U.S. is about to embark on a course that is as pernicious as it is nonsensical."

Bronheim accused President Nixon of using Gov. Rockefeller "as a stalking horse" for more militant policies, a statement that is not likely to endear him to the governor, whose reputation for a strong will is not taken lightly in the White House. Nor is Rockefeller likely to be happy over another Bronheim prediction that policies to match the report will make the United States "the laughingstock of the Western world."

However that may be, no major paper in this country has published the Rockefeller Report in full. It is understood that the New York *Times* may publish it in semi-book form, presumably when its release will have all the effect on public opinion of an Alka-Seltzer tossed into the Gulf of Mexico.

The governor's warning on subversion is not taken seriously, nor has there been any evident attempt by our major news media to dig into that aspect of the report to see precisely what the governor is talking about. Yet this may well turn out to be his most important assessment of the problem facing capital investments in Latin America—President Nixon's "trade, not aid," may hang in the balance.

Consider this story by U.S. wire services of a recent event in Argentina. On November 20 bombs exploded by Castroite terrorists knocked out several American businesses. Among them were Dow Chemical, John Deere, Ducilo (an affiliate of Dupont), Pan American Oil Co., Braniff International Airways, the Bedford Co., the First National Bank of Boston, Burroughs Business Machines, Pepsi-Cola and Cities Service Oil Co. Also hit was the Inter-American Development Bank.

Bombs were also found and disarmed at the American Club and several other establishments in Buenos Aires. Others were located at the First National City Bank of New York in the Argentine city of Córdoba, placed there by Castroite terrorists, said the authorities, to help drive U.S. capital out of South America, along with indigenous capital investors in U.S. businesses.

It is for this reason, among others, that smart overseas investment houses are looking around for solid private advice regarding the political stability and economic sanity of Latin nations. They have learned, following several shocks and disappointments, that too many in our State Department identify with those Latin American government planners who have wrought such economic and human disaster in South America. And those are the ones who precisely are still in positions of power and influence in Washington.

Until President Nixon realizes this fact and does something to correct it, very little will be done to implement policies recommended by the Rockefeller Report and endorsed by his Administration.

If Vice President Agnew cares to continue his search for bias in our news media, the Rockefeller Report provides him with fresh ammunition. As a matter of fact, this writer searched in vain for a newspaper account of the full report and finally found it. Guess where? In a 36-page supplement published by the 20,000 circulation newspaper, *La República,* in tiny Costa Rica. Is it possible that this newspaper has more money to publish the report than the mighty dailies in the United States? We doubt it.

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ACLU to the Rescue

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Spiro Agnew has gone abroad, doubtless seeking more worlds to conquer. Here at home, of course, his intimidatory tactics have so silenced Administration critics that they dare not speak out except on TV and radio and in the editorials, cartoons and columns of the overground press, such as the Washington *Post*, the New York *Times* and the California member of that axis.

Otherwise, you hardly hear his name mentioned. True, the general public has plenty of praise for him, but then what do you expect from drop-outs?

Frankly, I myself was slow to recognize the man's evil influence. Indeed, during the Thanksgiving holidays, I joined in many a toast to him.

It wasn't until the American Civil Liberties Union denounced his throttling of free speech that I fully realized the error of my ways.

For the ACLU is no ordinary group of protesters. Some of us oldsters remember the days when God was supposed to look out for falling sparrows. But He obviously didn't do a good job of it, and so that duty was turned over to the ACLU—with extraordinary results. Last year only 42 sparrows fell out of their nests, whereas in the McKinley Administration there were over 500 such incidents.

It is when things look darkest that this gallant crew comes to the rescue, much like—you should excuse the expression—the U.S. Marines in ancient movies. But, unlike that military-industrial complex (founded by the First Continental Congress, which was controlled by Big Business), the ACLU comes in peace.

Thus when recently California authorities suggested that, since drug addiction was prevalent even in our secondary schools, teachers be permitted to look through the kids' lockers to discover the pushers, an ACLU spokesman rose to defend the youngsters against this shocking invasion of privacy, which clearly violated the 4th Amendment's guarantee against unreasonable search and seizure.

And when an Eastern school attempted to start the day by reading from the *Congressional Record* a prayer offered at the opening session of Congress, who protested this brazen effort to fuse church and state? Our heroes, natch. They saw through the subterfuge that attendance at this was entirely voluntary, and successfully repelled this monstrous threat to the 1st Amendment.

And I recall that, during the Korean War, an American (but pro-Commie) journalist writing from Asia, falsely accused our forces of using germ warfare. He was later indicted for this—and who defended him? Right. And when the Los Angeles attorney, A. L. Wirin, introduced his client at an ACLU meeting here, the martyr drew a standing ovation.

No, I wasn't there, but asked my son, then in school, to cover it for me. He did—and reported the incident in a letter which appeared in the Los Angeles *Times,* which was then a conservative paper. And from that day to this, my son's account never has drawn a retraction.

Some 20 readers have referred to an article in *TV Guide* for September 27 of this year (reprinted in *Human Events)* in which officials of CBS, NBC and ABC conceded their reporting may have been slanted to the left, which is precisely what Agnew charged a few weeks later. With that record in cold print, these readers ask me if I can explain the breast-beating of the networks.

Well, that's a good question—the usual stall when you're stuck. But here's a stab at it. I would point out—as doubtless the ACLU would—that these officials were not under oath, and that they were not told by their interviewer (Edith Efron) they had a right to have a lawyer present at the interrogation. That makes their confessions—perhaps beaten out of them by third-degree methods—inadmissible. (See *People vs. Dorado.*) So though my friend, John Chamberlain, has nominated Miss Efron for a Pulitzer Prize, I'm betting against it. How about 100 to 1, John?

★ ★ ★

I hope those readers who still believe in the old-fashioned virtues will send get-well cards to Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), now ill at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Few have served the Republic more faithfully. (Bethesda Naval Hospital, Bethesda, Md. 20014.)

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Congress Has Yet to Act

Tides of Crime Roll On

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

It was not really to be expected, of course, that on the day after Richard Nixon took office the tides of crime would begin to recede. The waves would not stand still for King Canute. Nixon's scepter is no stronger. Yet it is disappointing, all the same, to see December here and the tides still rolling in.

Crime grows worse. Here in Washington, the daily chronicle gets longer, the morning *Post* reports the worst of each day's offenses in the agate type reserved for classified ads—so many raped, so many robbed, three lines for a hold-up. It no longer is news that burglars prowl. Murder is routine.

The picture is not materially different in most of our major cities. Everywhere the same causes produce the same effects. The failure of Congress to act effectively at the federal level is echoed in state legislatures and city councils. If Nixon knows frustration, so does many a mayor; John Lindsay, of all people, campaigned on a pledge for more police.

> **It is the system that is breaking down—the whole system of prevention, detection and punishment. The undisciplined children of a permissive society turn easily to crime; the sheer number of offenses overwhelms police; clogged courts cannot keep up; our prisons turn out repeaters.**

Out in St. Louis a man named Willie James Smith is waiting trial for murder. The charge is that he broke into a West End apartment on Halloween, raped and stabbed a 23-year-old pregnant woman, slew her husband and killed her mother. The young woman, left for dead, managed to summon police; from her hospital bed she identified Smith as one of her two assailants. A few days later she died.

What of Smith? He is now 28. His career in crime began at 16, when he was convicted of robbery of one woman at knifepoint and assault on another. Sent to Algoa Reformatory, he subsequently was transferred to the Missouri State Penitentiary as an incorrigible. He came out of prison, having served eight years of a 10-year sentence on Jan. 29, 1964.

Police records show that Smith was arrested just three weeks later on suspicion of assault, attempted robbery, and carrying a knife. The charge never came to trial. On March 19 he was again arrested on suspicion of robbery and strong-arming. This charge also was abandoned. In ecember 1964 Smith went back to prison, this time on a plea of guilty to first-degree robbery with a deadly weapon.

Once again released, in October 1968, Smith promptly returned to crime: He was sentenced to 50 days for carrying a concealed weapon. He had been arrested four times in 1969 before the Halloween murder and rape. Smith has denied the latest charge; the hospital identification may be inadmissible evidence under Supreme Court opinions; it doubtless will be contended that the publicity given his case prevents a fair trial. Where is Willie Smith?

His name is legion. In a somber report two weeks ago, the Federal Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence sketched a picture of what may lie ahead:

> **Our central business districts may be largely deserted by night, the empty sidewalks echoing no more than police patrols. High-rise apartments will become armed compounds. Homeowners everywhere will be fortified with grilled windows and bolted doors. Taxicabs and commercial vehicles will come equipped with bulletproof glass. Guards will "ride shotgun" on city buses. Slum neighborhoods will be jungles by night.**

This is urban America in the next decade? It does not have to be this way. The commission's recommendations start with steps as simple as better street lighting. More police are needed, more judges, better methods of drug and gun control. But in the end, "true security will come only when the vast majority of our citizens voluntarily accept society's rules of conduct as binding on them."

The commission thus is calling for a return to old values—to discipline, respect for law, swift justice. No President, by himself, can act upon that summons. But an aroused people, determined not to live in terror of the Willie Smiths, can get action from the Congress and from city councils, too.

(Copyright 1969, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

Figures released last week show that the District of Columbia now ranks fifth in the nation in the number of street robberies; only New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Detroit rank higher. Almost everyone in the District, black or white, now knows an individual who has been a victim of street crime—and no area of the city is exempt. Just two Saturdays ago, a young female employe of **Human Events** was robbed at knife point by a band of five teen-age girls while walking in front of the Library of Congress. Across the street was the Capitol of the United States; one half-block to the north was the U.S. Supreme Court; a half-block to the south was the House Office Building. Meanwhile, with less than two weeks to go to adjournment, Congress has failed to act.

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Only Two Critics Named

Stans Stacks Census Panel

By REP. JACKSON BETTS (R.-Ohio)

The need for an objective and comprehensive review of decennial census procedures, particularly the continuation of the $100 criminal penalty applied to every question, became evident to Congress and the secretary of commerce earlier this year.

Secretary Maurice Stans in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Census and Statistics on June 16 pro-

Ohio's GOP Rep. Jackson Betts would like to see some changes made in the census law.

posed a "blue ribbon" Census Advisory Committee which would include "Members of Congress, representatives of state and local governments, academicians and other professionals, representatives of minority, civil rights and other public interest groups and suppliers and users of census data from business and industry."

On November 24 Secretary Stans announced the formation of a Decennial Census Review Committee and appointment of its 17 members. I am not aware of anyone on the list, except the congressional appointees who have ever favored census reform.

As a matter of fact, the list is loaded with advocates of compulsory responses carrying the full criminal penalties.

In the interest of having some sort of a balanced commission, I recommended to the secretary the name of Prof. Arthur R. Miller of the University of Michigan, one of the most scholarly and articulate supporters of census reform in the country. His name does not appear on the list.

Evidently no one who raised even a faint breath of criticism of the status quo was considered for this commission.

After congressional prodding two members of Congress were added: Sen. Hiram Fong (R.-Hawaii) and Charles H. Wilson (D.-Calif.). I am particularly happy to see Mr. Wilson on the commission. As chairman of the subcommittee on the census, I was impressed with his diligence, his fairness, and the vast know-how which he acquired on this subject. I am sure Sen. Fong is also well informed on this issue.

However, except for these two members, I can, even now, predict a commission report violently opposed to voluntary census questioning and firm in support of the status quo.

The members of the Decennial Census Review Committee are: Mr. Ira T. Ellis, economist, E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co., Wilmington, Del., chairman. Mrs. Bruce Benson, president, U.S. League of Women Voters, Washington, D.C. Dr. Earl L. Butz, Dean of Continuing Education, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, president, Metropolitan Applied Research Center, New York, N.Y. Hon. Hiram L. Fong, United States Senator from Hawaii. Mr. Martin S. Gainsbrugh, senior vice president, National Industrial Conference Board, New York, N.Y. Mr. John J. Gunther, executive director, U.S. Conference of Mayors, Washington, D.C. Dr. Philip M. Hauser, director, Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. Dr. Carl H. Madden, chief economist, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D.C. Mr. Donald Muchmore, chairman of the board, Opinion Research of California, Long Beach, Calif. Mr. Howard A. Newman, chairman of the board, Northwest Industries, New York, N.Y. Mr. Arthur C. Nielsen Jr., president, A.C. Nielsen Co., Chicago, Ill. Hon. Richard B. Ogilvie, governor of Illinois, Springfield, Ill. Hon. Alexander B. Trowbridge, president, American Management Association, New York, N.Y. Prof. Alan Westin, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. Hon. Charles H. Wilson, member, House of Representatives, 31st District of California. Mr. Theodore Yntema, Oakland University, Rochester, Mich.

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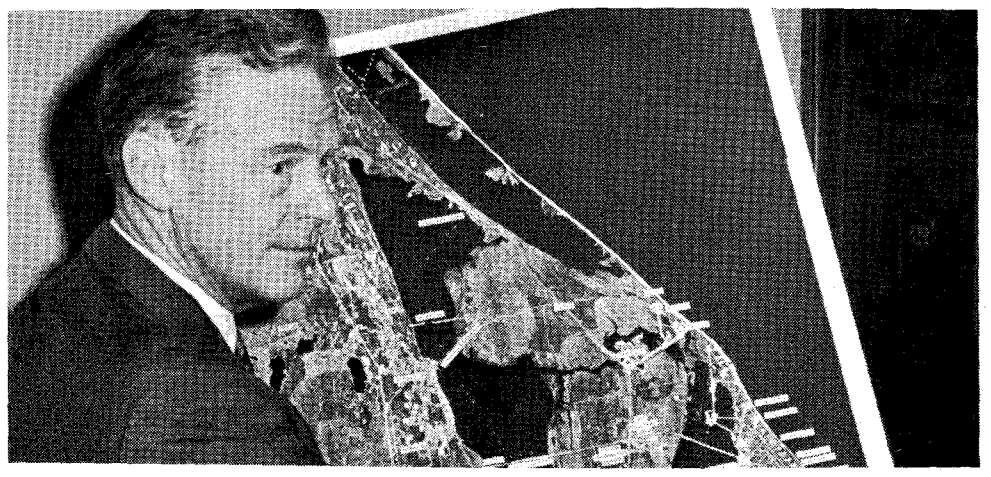
JEWS FLEEING POLAND—"According to the American Joint Distribution Committee in Austria, since early September Jews from Poland have been pouring into Vienna at the rate of 1,000 a month. It's but the latest result of the anti-semitism inherent in communism."—From the Richmond *News Leader*



Sen. Ed Gurney (R.-Fla.) indicates on a map the Cape Kennedy area. He and fellow Floridian Sen. Spessard Holland (D.) want to change the name of the historic area back to Cape Canaveral.

Back From Camelot to Canaveral

By RUSSELL KIRK

If the two United States senators from Florida have their way, what is now called Cape Kennedy will regain its ancient name of Cape Canaveral. For Canaveral was a place name long before the days of President Washington, let alone President Kennedy; and one ought not to meddle with ancient things in a fit of enthusiasm or a fit of sorrow.

Senators Spessard Holland and Edward Gurney, respectively Democrat and Republican, are joined by a good many other public men of Florida in petitioning the Senate Interior Committee to undo President Lyndon Johnson's executive order of Nov. 29, 1963, that abruptly (and probably illegally) substituted "Kennedy" for "Canaveral."

Mr. Johnson had no more authority to change the name of that historic spit (an older name even than that of Jamestown or of Plymouth) than President Nixon would have if he should proclaim Phoenix as "Goldwaterville."

Judge James R. Knott, of West Palm Beach, observes that we Americans usually respected historic place names—*until the murder of President Kennedy.* Less stable nations have acted otherwise; as Judge Knott puts it, "Such instances are not lacking in countries with cultures different from ours, of course, notable examples being Leningrad and Stalingrad."

If Americans of earlier generations had tinkered emotionally with site names, nowadays we might be calling Boston Common Garfield Square, and New Orleans' Jackson Square might be McKinley Park. It is well to mourn publicly the assassination of any President of these United States; yet it is not well to efface the real names of historic sites, especially when the newly honored dead President had only slight connections with the spot so designated.

To anyone with a sense of history, it was at once absurd and incongruous that Detroit's Cadillac Square, named for the great Frenchman who founded the city in 1701, should be renamed only because President Kennedy had made brief speeches downtown. P.T. Barnum, benefactor and most eminent citizen of Bridgeport, narrowly escaped as bitter a fate during the wave of sentimentality six years ago.

Idlewild Airport, of course, was converted into Kennedy Airport; which prompted certain obdurate Republicans, at the time, to suggest that Mrs. Kennedy might change her name, too—to Jackie Idlewild. Becoming Mrs. Onassis is nearly a fulfillment of that prediction.

Names created principally by public-relations people soon grow sere and yellow. Practically everybody knows now that there never was a Camelot—not at Hyannis Port or Washington, anyway. Historically considered, John F. Kennedy was rather an ineffectual President, in domestic concerns as in foreign: and the Kennedy family's descent in public admiration has been as rapid as was its ascent a decade ago.

Lafayette Square, in Washington, was not styled Lincoln Square after President Lincoln's assassination; and certainly Abraham Lincoln would not have wished to thrust aside a Revolutionary hero. And so far as I know, there has been no strong movement in Manhattan to rename Washington Square in honor of Malcolm X.

Indeed, there would be more justification in calling Plymouth Rock "Kennedy Rock" than in meddling with Florida's Cape Canaveral. But that's a perilous suggestion: the legislators of Massachusetts might act upon it.

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Nixon Gambles With CBW Ban

From the Chicago *Tribune*

How wonderful it would be if President Nixon's unilateral renunciation of chemical and germ warfare and his promise to destroy our stockpile of bacteriological weapons were to eliminate, once and for good, the terrifying likelihood of such warfare. He would be a hero to all mankind.

But, unfortunately, dangers cannot be brushed aside that easily. If they could, chemical and bacteriological warfare would have been ruled out years ago—along with nuclear and other types of warfare as well. Whether we like it or not, poison gases and germ weapons of infinite cruelty have been devised and do exist. We know from intelligence reports that the Soviet Union is stockpiling them—three types in particular. Last summer Defense Secretary Laird said that Russia's stockpile was larger than our own.

What Mr. Nixon's plan would seem to do, therefore, is to eliminate what balance there is. He calls this "an initiative toward peace" and says it should reduce the likelihood that chemical and germ weapons will ever be used by any nation.

The theory that a unilateral renunciation of evil will convert the enemy is an old and idealistic one, but has not been proved by history. Totalitarian rulers, whether Communist or fascist, have little use for morality or public opinion and are not interested in making points with St. Peter.

The Hitler regime was the first to develop nerve gases and germ weapons and there is every indication that Hitler would have used them if the United States and Britain had not managed to build up a $2-billion stockpile of their own and promised to retaliate the moment Hitler used his.

This is the old balance of power, the deterrent which held Europe back from the brink of war many times in the past and which has prevented the use of nuclear as well as biological weapons. The escalation of weaponry can and should be reversed by mutual agreement, with foolproof safeguards. But by upsetting the balance and asking nothing in return, Mr. Nixon's renunciation may well encourage rather than discourage the use of the very weapons he abhors.

If his purpose is merely to appease the criticism growing out of the Viet Nam war, it would be a tragic mistake. In biological warfare, the battleground would not be just Viet Nam; it would be the civilized world.

The minority opposing Mr. Nixon's Viet Nam policies is growing smaller, according to recent polls, and there are fewer still who would welcome concessions which would risk weakening our position in a border war. We doubt that anything Mr. Nixon does, short of dismantling the defense establishment overnight, would appease his most severe critics.

The only legitimate defense of Mr. Nixon's announcement, therefore, is the one he gave himself: that his actions will reduce the possibility of biological warfare. This is a pure gamble, and a risky one at that. Mr. Nixon knows things that we don't about our capacity and no doubt our potential enemies' as well. We trust that he has weighed all of the evidence and knows what he is doing. His responsibility is a heavy one.

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Vice President Agnew's 'Ten Commandments'

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

For years students of contemporary politics have been trying to find out what the anarchist wing of the New Left really wants. The anarchists, when questioned, say that they want to destroy American society—or world society. Some of the more charmingly naive ones, like Arlo Guthrie, can look you in the eye and predict that within a few years, America will crumble—literally, that is, with the skycrapers of New York disintegrating, presumably in shame.

Recently, however, Irv Kupcinet of the Chicago *Sun-Times*, host of a popular talk show, put the question forcefully—with some help from me—to Abbie Hoffman. Mr. Hoffman is one of the leaders of today's unkempt anarchist movement on trial in Chicago for conspiracy to tear the city apart.

After ducking the question—"Well, what would you like to see replacing our present society?"—the apostle of total democracy finally said, "A benevolent dictatorship." Scratch a member of the New Left and you find a New Totalitarian.

What the hippie-Yippie radicals want, however, was more genially catalogued by Vice President Agnew in a recent speech before a meeting of the nation's governors in Washington. Mr. Agnew's remarks have received some exposure—although I was unable to find them in the New York *Times*. Perhaps they ran in one edition and were yanked to make room for more topical news of anarchist depravities.

The vice president's statement was in the form of "Ten Commandments of protest"—and I quote them in their entirety. These commandments are, said Mr. Agnew:

"Thou shalt not allow thy opponent to speak.

"Thou shalt not set forth a program of thine own.

"Thou shalt not trust anybody over 30.

"Thou shalt not honor thy father or thy mother.

"Thou shalt not heed the lessons of history.

"Thou shalt not write anything longer than a slogan.

"Thou shalt not present a negotiable demand.

"Thou shalt not accept any Establishment idea.

"Thou shalt not revere any but totalitarian heroes.

"Thou shalt not ask forgiveness for thy transgressions; rather shalt thou demand amnesty for them."

Were Mr. Agnew the vulgarian that some of the media now pretend he is, he might have added a few more commandments to the Decalogue. For example:

"Thou shalt not bathe.

"Thou shalt insist that thy tongue be as dirty as thy hair, thy beard, and thy dungarees.

"Thou shalt substitute chaos for order, insult for rational speech, rocks for arguments.

"Thou shalt bring cogency to your ideas by expressing them in four-letter words.

"Thou shalt have no other gods before Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro and Ho Chi Minh.

"Thou shalt visit the wrath of high principle on thy neighbor's plate glass window, his car, his livelihood.

"Thou shalt bring education to the ignorant by closing down schools, colleges and universities."

The list could go on and on. No one can know it better than the earnest seeker after facts who has been called a "fascist pig" by one of the New Left's seekers after truth and freedom. This is the way of the New Anarchists.

Unlike the classic anarchists—men and women who lived lives of dedicated self-discipline, who fought all totalitarianism, whether of the right or left, who studied the writings of their intellectuals and sought to propagate them by logical persuasion—the New Anarchists derive from Bakunin and Nechaev, two 19th Century Russians who believed that only by unleashing terror and evil could we usher in Utopia. Abbie Hoffman and his boys would have loved them, and they would have loved Mr. Agnew's Decalogue.

Vice President Agnew continues to give the Liberal Establishment a hard time—and columnist de Toledano has some further suggestions on how to do it.

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BUSINESSMEN FINANCED NBEDC—Wealthy Detroit businessmen helped finance the National Black Economic Development Conference, which fostered James Forman's "Black Manifesto," it was learned recently. The annual report of the Economic Development Corp. of Greater Detroit, released last week, disclosed that the group put up $35,000 to help finance the April "Black Power" conference. Directors of the group include the heads of the country's four automobile companies, the six Detroit banks, the Bendix Corp., and Parke, Davis & Co.

Where Was Proxmire on Otepka?

From the Arizona *Republic*

Sen. William Proxmire, upset over the abolition of a government efficiency expert's job after he exposed vast C5A overruns, has demanded a Justice Department investigation.

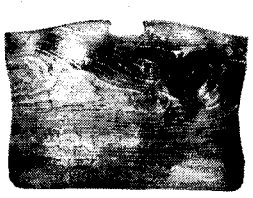
Proxmire notes that it is a federal criminal offense to threaten, influence, intimidate, or impede any witness in connection with a congressional investigation, or to injure any witness for testimony to Congress. And he feels that both aspects of this law were violated in the phasing out of the job of A. Ernest Fitzgerald, whose testimony last year led to disclosures of a $2-billion overrun in a $3-billion contract.

We share Sen. Proxmire's concern. We simply do not buy the lame excuse that Fitzgerald was eased out solely for economy reasons. And we believe an investigation is definitely in order.

But we would have far greater respect for the integrity of Sen. Proxmire, one of the major opponents of the "military-industrial complex," had he been anywhere near as concerned with the fate of Otto Otepka, the former chief evaluator of the State Department who was harassed far more unmercifully than Mr. Fitzgerald.

Indeed, if Fitzgerald was harassed (and we believe he was), then Otepka was persecuted. Thankfully, President Nixon subsequently appointed Otepka to the Subversive Activities Control Board, thereby helping to rectify some of the damage done to him in violation of the law. But neither Proxmire nor any of the other liberal senators who are trying to make a martyr of Fitzgerald (in an effort to blacken further the eye of the Defense Department) ever said one word about the star-chamber treatment accorded Otepka.

A man's character is determined as much by how sternly he insists upon justice for his ideological foes as for his ideological friends.



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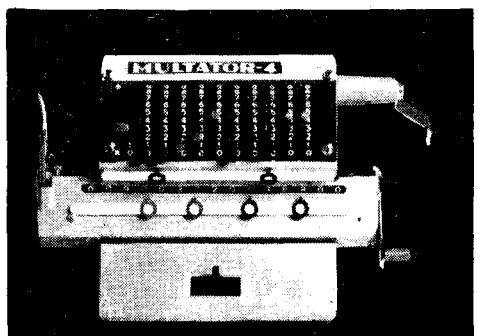

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Background to Helsinki Talks

Secret Testimony Shows Soviets Outstripping Us at Sea

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

The threatening Red Star is mounting rapidly over the Seven Seas on a scale still unrevealed to our public while the USSR chats in a leisurely way about *nuclear disarmament at Helsinki.*

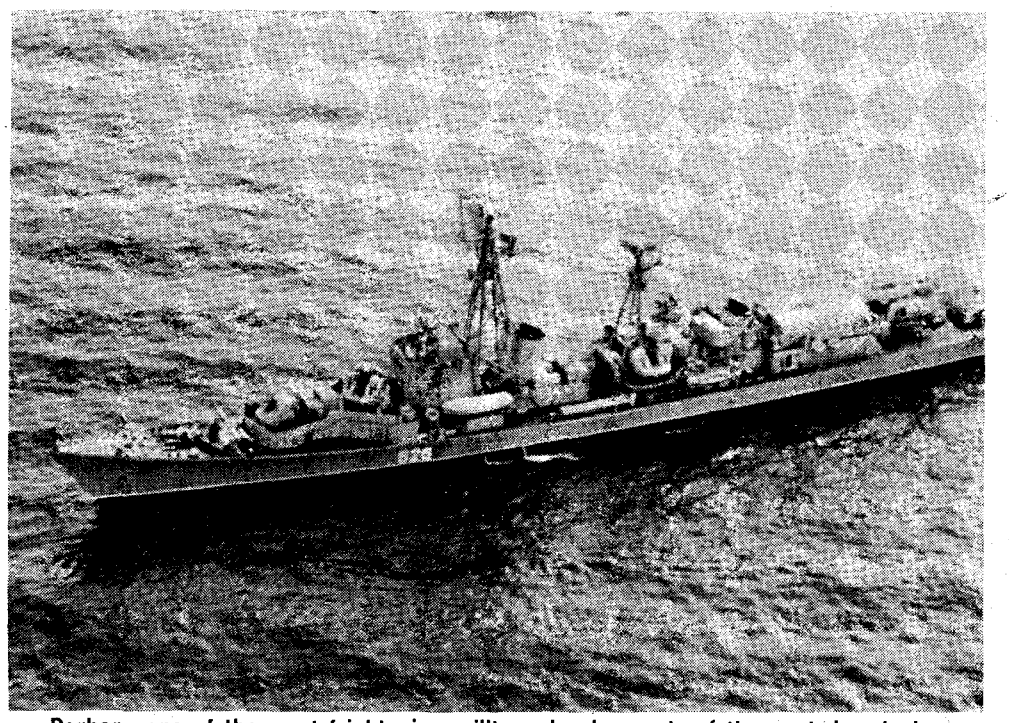
In secret testimony to a House Appropriations subcommittee, U.S. Navy nuclear chief Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover stated that by the end of the coming year Russia will have more nuclear submarines than the United States. And this is only a fraction of the sea situation behind the scenes.

Adm. Rickover finds that Russia already has 232 more submarines of all types than we have. They have 375; the U.S. 143. We have 81 nuclear subs, including 41 Polaris missile-firing subs. The Russians have 65 nuclear subs and Rickover expects them to add 70 by 1974, compared to our adding 26.

Then Adm. Rickover revealed the most frightening crusher of all. A Polaris missile-firing submarine carries 16 H-bomb (not A-bomb) missiles, each with a 2,500-mile range. The fleet totals 656 warheads. Each warhead averages about three megatons explosive power, aggregating 1.9 billion tons of conventional explosives. These craft cannot be tracked by radar or by sight and are not where they were even a few minutes ago. And, relying more and more on this fleet's deployment for our nuclear retaliatory striking power, we are closing or phasing out many of our Strategic Air Command's vast overseas bases.

But Russia now has 48 submarines with ballistic missiles. That is more than the United States. And Adm. Rickover testified that the "USSR is capable of launching one a month." In contrast, he told the subcommittee, "We have no plans to expand our Polaris fleet."

The subcommittee had heard Gen. William C. Westmoreland, chief of staff of the Army, testify that Russia has 140 combat-ready divisions, whereas our Army's peak strength during the Viet Nam war was 19. Accordingly, the subcommittee asked Adm. Rickover whether the U.S. Navy-Army deficiency is offset by greater U.S. air power.



Perhaps one of the most frightening military developments of the past decade has been the abrupt rise of Russian naval power. It has been pointed out that most Red naval ships are relatively new, while the vast majority of U.S. vessels are of World War II vintage. Above, a Kildin-class destroyer in the Mediterranean.

Adm. Rickover quoted Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. John P. McConnell's final testimony to the Senate Committee on Appropriations before McConnell's retirement: "As I leave the Air Force it has less air power than when I became chief of staff four and one-half years ago."

Today's chief of naval operations, Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, in turn, testified that former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara had de-commissioned more than 100 warships during the McNamara regime, even during the fighting in Viet Nam. In contrast, he stated, Russia, although still weak in aircraft carriers, has built 25 heavy cruisers and more than 200 destroyers since World War II.

Adm. Moorer revealed that the Soviet navy has 1,575 ships of recent construction against 894 built in our country in the same period. These include swarms of helicopter ships. Each carries 25 large helicopters and 500 Red combat troops. The largest, he said, is the 18,000-ton *Moscva,* now in the Mediterranean.

Our Navy's No. 1 man grimly described the Red fleet's mobility. He said the entire armada is now serviced offshore in the Seven Seas by traveling, deep-water supply ships. He described the Red fleet's vastly greater intelligence-gathering capability by a spectacular growth of Soviet "trawlers" carrying advanced snooping equipment. Adm. Moorer testified that, in contrast, we have left only two *Pueblo*-type intelligence ships out of an original 10 when Mr. McNamara came in.

U.S. Vice Adm. James W. O'Grady, chief of staff to Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, testified that the Soviet Mediterranean fleet build-up, first disclosed in this column (Aug. 9, 1967), which began after the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, continues so heavily that Russian warships in the Mediterranean now outnumber ours by 13 to 15 vessels.

Adm. O'Grady stated that, all denials notwithstanding, the Red fleet is using the former immense French Mers-el-Kebir naval and air base in Algeria, thus establishing the USSR not only at the absolute crossroad of the Mediterranean but within 260 miles of Gibraltar. He stated that the Red fleet is prepared to drop the boom on us at the vital Gibraltar bottleneck entrance *to this lifeline thoroughfare at any time.*

This is the compilation of secret information which, behind the scenes, confronts able Gerard C. Smith, our chief negotiator at Helsinki.

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Voter Furor Grows Over Mail-to-Congress Issue

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A rather astonishing public reaction has followed recent disclosures here that some members of Congress and their staffs give only perfunctory attention to letters from their constitutents.

Evidently, resentment has long been building up among substantial numbers of citizens affronted by what they regard as the supercilious attitude toward mailed opinion on the part of certain elected representatives.

Their exasperation found vent in a flood of letters recounting their own experiences after they read about what happened to letters sent to the offices of Sen. Russell Long (D.-La.) and Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.). [See *Human Events,* Nov. 29, 1969, page 8 and Nov. 15, 1969, page 10.]

Long, informed by a couple in Ohio that they could provide information reflecting on the integrity of Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), sent the message to Bayh's office. A staff aide to Bayh, pretending he was calling for Long, induced the couple to send the material to his private home address.

Percy, in receipt of a letter from Mrs. Wilburn L. Wood of Chicago, expressing her strong opposition to a proposal by Sen. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.) that all American troops be withdrawn from Viet Nam by Dec. 1, 1970, sent a reply thanking her for informing him of "your support for Sen. Goodell's initiative."

The two incidents inspired scores of men and women to write that they had received similar treatment.

They were particularly indignant about Long's light regard for a confidential message and his explanation that it was "mere routine" to send it to a colleague against whom a serious complaint had been lodged.

This practice, it developed, is not confined to Capitol Hill. Mrs. G. M. Yule of Wilmette, Ill., reported that she had written Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird asking him to explain his policy differences with Henry Kissinger, a White House aide, about whom she had some doubts.

She received a reply, not from Laird, but from a State Department press officer who wrote that "Secretary of State William P. Rogers has asked me to reply to your interesting comments on Henry Kissinger." Mrs. Yule still is trying to find out how her letter to the Defense Department was routed to the State Department.

Percy is not alone in misinterpreting letters sent him, according to Mrs. Imogene Cashmore of Gays Mills, Wis. She wrote Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) supporting President Nixon'a anti-ballistic missile system.

Back came a reply thanking her for "letting me know of your opposition to the ABM." As in Percy's case, an apology was provided later.

Rod Hansen of Evergreen Park, Ill., reported that he wrote Percy last February about the dispute over the nomination of Abe Fortas to be chief justice of the United States. He received an evasive reply, devoted mostly to the senator's views on the Viet Nam war, about which Hansen had not inquired.

Many members of Congress, including some of great prestige, regard mail from constituents as a reliable barometer on public opinion. They read it carefully and personally dictate and sign their replies.

Others, asserting they are too busy, rely on staff aides to answer letters. These assistants, impatient with the burden, prepare form letters with stamped signatures. These are easily detectible, and many complainants assert they would prefer no answer at all.

The great majority of the letter writers are intelligent, concerned Americans, seeking to communicate with the men they elected to office. They have a tendency, when ignored, to vote their frustrations on election day.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Drugs at My Lai?

By SEN. THOMAS DODD (D.-Conn.)

We should not be altogether startled by the bizarre activities of these young soldiers if what we have been told happened at My Lai did indeed happen. I know only what I have read in the newspapers.

These GIs are of the same generation as some of the college crowd who are leading the weird actions and revolts on campuses across the country. These are the students who, in a very large percentage, have associated themselves with marihuana, a "pot culture."

There is a long record of grotesque activities of our young here at home committed while under the influence of marihuana and other psychotropic drugs.

We should not be taken completely off guard when those same students, introduced to the stress of Army life and the harsh realities of battle conditions, react in weird ways under the influence of these drugs.

This is all the more so when it is understood that the difference between the domestic variety of marihuana here in the States and Viet Nam marihuana is the same as the difference between a glass of beer and a half pint of whisky.

If this is so, it is imperative that immediate drastic steps be taken to correct this drug problem that I have warned the past two administrations about since 1966.

Upon the completion of interviews with medical witnesses, and the Army and civilian personnel involved, I plan to conduct public hearings to get at the facts, to let our people know if our soldiers in Viet Nam have suddenly become brutal stormtroopers, or, whether, as I consider more likely, some of them have become the victims of a drug problem that has already torn asunder the fabric of domestic American society.

Hemlines and Economy

By REP. BARBER CONABLE (R.-N.Y.)

I heard a speech the other day which suddenly caused a great light to shine in the fiscal and monetary darkness. A theory was propounded, and I find it is not a new one but it was new to me, that the financial cycles are controlled not by fiscal or monetary policy but by the height of the hemline on ladies' skirts. It was pointed out that the high hemlines of the '20s started down prior to the '29 crash, and that the longer "new look" ushered in a recession in '48. I'm sure that more documentation is available today. The implications of this discovery boggle the imagination. Superficially, at least, one would conclude that sound financial planning could start only with the nationalization of the ladies' garment industry. On the other hand, if hemline heights could be legislated, what would be the moral consequences of the Republicans and Democrats vying against each other at campaign time to improve the nation's prosperity? And let us hope, brethren, for fiscal as well as aesthetic reasons, that the maxi-coat is merely a temporary aberration. I acknowledge that this theory may raise an eyebrow or two in an otherwise serious publication like this but I have long thought that most housewives (wherever their hemlines) could tell us more about the economy than the sober and learned economics professors who are always testifying in incomprehensible terms before [congressional] committees.

Cosa Nostra Arrests

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

If anyone doubts the urgency of passing new laws to control the threat which organized crime poses to the body politic, he should consider the following statistics:

- It is estimated that there are about 5,000 members of the Cosa Nostra in the United States.
- Since 1960, only 235 federal indictments have been returned against 328 members of the Cosa Nostra (mostly "small fry").
- Of these 328 defendants 96 have not yet been brought to trial or sentenced; 85 were tried but sentenced to less than maximum sentences; 15 were convicted but no jail term was served; 73 were acquitted or charges were dropped.

Several bills forging new tools for the war against organized crime have been lying dormant in dusty pigeonholes in Congress for more than six months. The American people are entitled to one of two things: action or the reason for inaction.

Pesticide Problem

By SEN. ALLEN ELLENDER (D.-La.)

Recently, the wide use of a variety of pesticides and poisonous substances has been brought into question both in and out of government. These poisons are of the so-called "persistent" kind, which means that they do not disintegrate after use, but remain in the earth, or run off into our rivers and lakes, where they remain. They represent an increasingly important source of the pollution that is building up in our environment every day. Those whose business it is to help the farmer protect his crops recognize the seriousness of this problem, as does the government. In many cases, we have as yet found no effective substitute for the pesticides which must be used against the insects feeding themselves upon our agricultural produce. Still, I am glad to say that much greater care is being employed in the application of the chemicals, so that streams, lakes, and other sensitive areas will not be covered with the control agents. What is needed, however, is a greater effort to find substances which will do the job on a temporary basis, and not remain effective for years into the future to pollute our air and water supplies. I have always supported research in this direction, and I will do my utmost to see that it is pushed forward in the future.

House Blocks Red Trade Move, 238-157

The House of Representatives on December 10 rejected the House-Senate conference report on the Export Administration Act which included measures liberalizing trade with Soviet bloc countries. A "nay" vote is in effect a vote to curtail such trade.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 152

Adams, Addabbo, Albert, Anderson (Calif.), Annunzio, Ashley, Aspinall, Barrett, Biaggi, Bingham, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Brasco, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Carey, Casey, Celler, Chisholm, Clay, Cohelan, Conyers, Corman, Culver, Daddario, Daniels (N. J.), Delaney, Dingell, Donohue, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edwards (Calif.), Evans (Colo.), Fallon, Farbstein, Feighan, Flood, Foley, Ford, William, Fraser, Friedel, Gallagher, Garmatz, Gaydos, Gettys, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hamilton, Hanley, Harrington, Hathaway, Hawkins, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Hicks, Holifield, Howard, Hungate, Jacobs, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Karth, Kastenmeier, Kee, Kluczynski, Koch, Kyros, Leggett, Long (Md.), Lowenstein, McFall, Macdonald (Mass.), Madden, Mahon, Matsunaga, Meeds, Melcher, Mikva, Miller (Calif.), Mills, Minish, Mink, Mollohan, Monagan, Moorhead, Morgan, Moss, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N. Y.), Nedzi, Nix, Obey, O'Hara, Olsen, O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Pickle, Pike, Podell, Price (Ill.), Pucinski, Purcell, Rees, Reuss, Rodino, Roe, Rogers (Colo.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roybal, Ryan, St Germain, St. Onge, Scheuer, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Steed, Stokes, Stubblefield, Sullivan, Symington, Thompson(N. J.), Tiernan, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Waldie, White, Wolff, Wright, Yates, Yatron, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 5

Frelinghuysen, Halpern, Morse, Reid (N. Y.), Whalen

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 67

Abbitt, Abernethy, Alexander, Andrews (Ala.), Baring, Bennett, Bevill, Blanton, Brinkley, Burleson (Tex.), Burlison (Mo.), Cabell, Caffery, Chappell, Colmer, Daniel (Va.), de la Garza, Dent, Dorn, Dowdy, Downing, Edmondson, Edwards (La.), Fisher, Flowers, Flynt, Fountain, Galifianakis, Griffin, Haley, Hanna, Hebert, Henderson, Ichord, Jarman, Jones (N. C.), Jones (Tenn.), Kazen, Lennon, Long (La.), McMillan, Mann, Marsh, Montgomery, Natcher, Nichols, O'Neal (Ga.), Passman, Poage, Preyer (N. C.), Pryor (Ark.), Randall, Rarick, Rivers, Roberts, Rogers (Fla.), Rooney (Pa.), Satterfield, Shipley, Staggers, Stephens, Stratton, Stuckey, Taylor, Waggonner, Watts, Whitten

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 171

Adair, Anderson (Ill.), Andrews (N. D.), Arends, Ashbrook, Ayres, Beall (Md.), Belcher, Bell (Calif.), Berry, Betts, Biester, Blackburn, Bow, Bray, Brock, Broomfield, Brotzman, Brown (Mich.), Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N. C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Burton (Utah), Bush, Button, Byrnes (Wis.), Camp, Carter, Cederberg, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Cleveland, Collins, Conable, Conte, Corbett, Coughlin, Cramer, Crane, Cunningham, Davis (Wis.), Dellenback, Denney, Dennis, Derwinski, Devine, Dickinson, Duncan, Dwyer, Edwards (Ala.), Erlenborn, Esch, Eshleman, Findley, Fish, Ford, Gerald, Foreman, Frey, Fulton (Pa.), Goldwater, Goodling, Gross, Grover, Gubser, Gude, Hall, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Harsha, Harvey, Hastings, Heckler (Mass.), Hogan, Horton, Hunt, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, Keith, King, Kleppe, Kuykendall, Landgrebe, Langen, Latta, Lloyd, Lujan, Lukens, McClory, McCloskey, McClure, McCulloch, McDade, McDonald (Mich.), McEwen, McKneally, MacGregor, Martin, Mathias, May, Mayne, Meskill, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Minshall, Mize, Mizell, Morton, Mosher, Myers, Nelsen, O'Konski, Pelly, Pettis, Pirnie, Poff, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quie, Quillen, Railsback, Reid (Ill.), Rhodes, Robison, Roth, Roudebush, Ruth, Sandman, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Schwengel, Scott, Sebelius, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Smith (N. Y.), Snyder, Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Steiger (Ariz.), Steiger (Wis.), Taft, Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Wampler, Watkins, Watson, Weicker, Whitehurst, Widnall, Wiggins, Williams, Wilson, Bob, Winn, Wold, Wyatt, Wydler, Wylie, Wyman, Zion, Zwach

NOT VOTING: 38

House Passes Aid Money Bill, 200-195

Following is the 200-to-195 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on December 9 approved the smallest ($1.6 billion) foreign aid appropriations bill in the program's history. Increased aid for anti-Communist South Korea and Taiwan was voted, as well as a provision that no aid go to countries trading with North Viet Nam or Red China.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 121

Addabbo, Albert, Alexander, Anderson (Calif.), Anderson (Tenn.), Annunzio, Ashley, Aspinall, Barrett, Biaggi, Bingham, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Bolling, Brasco, Brooks, Burke (Mass.), Byrne (Pa.), Cabell, Carey, Celler, Corman, Culver, Daddario, Daniels (N. J.), de la Garza, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dulski, Edmondson, Evans (Colo.), Evins (Tenn.), Fallon, Farbstein, Feighan, Fisher, Flood, Fraser, Friedel, Gallagher, Garmatz, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Gray, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hamilton, Hanley, Hanna, Hansen (Wash.), Harrington, Hathaway, Hebert, Helstoski, Hicks, Holifield, Jacobs, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Kazen, Kee, Kluczynski, Kyros, Long (Md.), McCarthy, McFall, Madden, Mahon, Mann, Matsunaga, Melcher, Miller (Calif.), Minish, Monagan, Moorhead, Morgan, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N. Y.), Nix, O'Hara, O'Neill (Mass.), Passman, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Podell, Preyer (N. C.), Price (Ill.), Pryor (Ark.), Purcell, Rivers, Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Rooney (N. Y.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roybal, Ryan, St. Onge, Sikes, Sisk, Smith (Iowa), Stratton, Sullivan, Symington, Teague (Tex.), Udall, Vigorito, Wilson, Charles, Wolff, Wright, Yatron

REPUBLICANS FOR: 79

Anderson (Ill.), Andrews (N. D.), Arends, Ayres, Beall (Md.), Belcher, Bell (Calif.), Biester, Broomfield, Brotzman, Buchanan, Bush, Button, Byrnes (Wis.), Cederberg, Conable, Corbett, Coughlin, Cunningham, Davis (Wis.), Dellenback, Dennis, Dwyer, Erlenborn, Esch, Findley, Fish, Ford, Gerald, Frelinghuysen, Fulton (Pa.), Gubser, Gude, Halpern, Hansen (Idaho), Hastings, Heckler (Mass.), Hogan, Horton, Keith, Lloyd, McClory, McCloskey, McDade, McEwen, McKneally, MacGregor, Mathias, May, Mayne, Mize, Morse, Morton, Nelsen, Pelly, Pirnie, Quie, Railsback, Reid (N. Y.), Rhodes, Roth, Sandman, Schneebeli, Schwengel, Shriver, Smith (N. Y.), Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Steiger (Wis.), Taft, Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thomson (Wis.), Weicker, Widnall, Wiggins, Wilson, Bob, Wold, Zwach

DEMOCRATS FOR: 104

Abbitt, Abernethy, Adams, Andrews (Ala.), Baring, Bennett, Bevill, Blanton, Brinkley, Brown (Calif.), Burleson (Tex.), Burlison (Mo.), Burton (Calif.), Caffery, Casey, Chappell, Chisholm, Clay, Cohelan, Colmer, Conyers, Daniel (Va.), Davis (Ga.), Delaney, Dent, Dorn, Dowdy, Downing, Eckhardt, Edwards (Calif.), Edwards (La.), Flynt, Foley, Ford, William, Fountain, Fuqua, Galifianakis, Gaydos, Griffin, Hagan, Haley, Hechler (W. Va.), Henderson, Howard, Hull, Hungate, Ichord, Jarman, Jones (N. C.), Jones (Tenn.), Karth, Kastenmeier, Koch, Leggett, Lennon, Long (La.), Lowenstein, McMillan, Marsh, Meeds, Mikva, Mills, Mink, Mollohan, Montgomery, Moss, Natcher, Nedzi, Obey, Olsen, O'Neal (Ga.), Ottinger, Poage, Randall, Rarick, Rees, Reuss, Roberts, Roe, Rogers (Fla.), St Germain, Satterfield, Scheuer, Shipley, Slack, Staggers, Steed, Stephens, Stokes, Stubblefield, Stuckey, Taylor, Thompson (N. J.), Tiernan, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Waggonner, Waldie, Watts, White, Whitten, Yates, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 91

Adair, Ashbrook, Berry, Betts, Blackburn, Bray, Brock, Brown (Mich.), Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N. C.), Broyhill (Va.), Burke (Fla.), Burton (Utah), Camp, Carter, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Cleveland, Collier, Collins, Conte, Crane, Denney, Derwinski, Devine, Dickinson, Duncan, Edwards (Ala.), Eshleman, Foreman, Frey, Goldwater, Goodling, Gross, Grover, Hall, Hammerschmidt, Harsha, Harvey, Hunt, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), King, Kleppe, Kuykendall, Landgrebe, Langen, Latta, Lujan, Lukens, McClure, McCulloch, McDonald (Mich.), Martin, Meskill, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Minshall, Myers, O'Konski, Pettis, Poff, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quillen, Reid (Ill.), Robison, Roudebush, Ruth, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Sebelius, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Snyder, Steiger (Ariz.), Thompson (Ga.), Wampler, Watkins, Watson, Whalen, Whitehurst, Williams, Winn, Wyatt, Wylie, Wyman, Zion

PRESENT: Bow (R) and Jonas (R)

NOT VOTING: 36

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